

IN THESE TIMES

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THIS WEEK'S

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won this one
for the Glipper?**

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Half of the Hospital Union's membership will remain in RWDSU, roughly 75,000 workers from the New York District 1199.

Hospital Union battle partly settled

By David Moberg

The raging controversy between the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and its parent union, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), has finally been resolved—somewhat. The Hospital Union—long an autonomous unit within RWDSU that had grown out of the celebrated efforts of ill-paid, largely minority New York City hospital workers to form their union, District 1199—will now exist as a separate union with a charter granted by the AFL-CIO. But they will leave behind in RWDSU half of their membership, roughly 75,000 workers from the New York District 1199.

The battle erupted last fall when RWDSU President Alvin Heaps, with the support of District 1199 President Doris Turner, proposed dismantling the autonomous Hospital Union. The fight took on special meaning because the Hospital Union has in many ways been a model for the labor movement. It is comparatively democratic, it has active organizers with a success rate half again better than the national union average and it represents service workers who are mainly women and in large part minorities, politically left and active in civil rights, peace and cultural affairs.

Now the union is divided and at least temporarily weakened, although Hospital Union President Henry Nicholas is glad that he and the rest of his staff will now be freed from legal and intra-union battles. Yet the fight continues within the New York district where opponents of Turner, a black woman who once worked as a hospital service employee, charge that elections held last month which she claims to have won—were tainted with fraud, intimidation

The Hospital Union continued to be threatened by the lawsuits, adverse actions by the RWDSU executive board and the certainty that the July 9 special RWDSU convention would end both their existence and their legal standing to protest. Hospital Union leaders also believed that Turner had made arrangements to sign the contracts that expire July 1 with the League of Voluntary Hospitals with District 1199, effectively leaving the Hospital Union in any case.

Despite the turmoil, the Hospital Union has continued its organizing this year, winning 30 of 41 elections that have brought in more than 3,000 new members this year. To compensate for the split, national union leaders plan to call a referendum vote on increasing district per capita taxes, which could also raise dues. Some austerity measures will be needed, but there are no plans to cut organizers.

The Hospital Union executive board will meet June 6, when it is expected to vote to give 90-day notice of its plans to withdraw after the agreement goes into effect July 1. Although Hospital Union leaders had pushed vigorously in years past to merge with the Service Employees—a campaign that precipitated the recent moves by Heaps and Turner—it is now intent on building a strong independent union. Most Hospital Union leaders still hold out hopes that District 1199 will rejoin their union.

For that to occur, there would probably need to be a leadership change in District 1199. Turner, a protege of long-time union leader Leon Davis, who opposed her re-election, felt bitter that Nicholas, another black leader, succeeded Davis as president. Her followers portray her as a woman representative of black rank and file fighting against control of the union by white men with ties to the Communist Party. But her critics describe her as personally paranoid, interested solely in narrow business unionism, as well as politically compromised—supporting Ed Koch over Mario Cuomo, for example, in the last New York gubernatorial primary.

Turner's opponents have charged that the April election was thoroughly corrupt: opponents were barred from hospitals, refused nominating petitions, physically threatened and persistently redbaited. They also claim that paid staff—whose numbers, salaries and perks were recently boosted by Turner—worked on union time for Turner, and that the election board was rigged. Federal district judge Leonard B. Sands issued a temporary restraining order on ballot counting on the basis of evidence accumulated in Hospital Union hearings, but counting started anyway. In early May, after the agreement had been reached, a new count was started, but part way through the tally observers for opponents were excluded. A few days later Turner claimed victory, but a week later District 1199 still would not release the results. (Neither Turner nor any other leader from her faction was willing to discuss the controversy with *In These Times*.)

On the basis of the preliminary count they did observe, opponents say that they led Turner in the 31,000-member professional, technical and clerical unit by 68 percent and in the 5,000-member registered nurses unit by 62 percent. Turner led by 70 percent in the 36,000-member service and maintenance unit, the poorer and more heavily black section of the union that, along with the geographical regions of Manhattan and the Bronx, make up Turner's base. Results in the smaller pharmacy unit were unclear. Opponents conceded Turner may have had a majority, but the union by-laws require a run-off if no candidate wins in all four divisions. The Hospital Union is charging in court that the election violated the agreement while Turner opponents pursue internal appeals and prepare to ask the Labor Department to hold new elections. Meanwhile, some registered nurses are talking about disaffiliating from District 1199.

"Doris Turner says to members that whites are out to get me, and a lot of black women identify with her," laments Dennis Rivera, an opposition candidate. Race, politics, union philosophy, personal ambitions and much more fuel the fight. Yet it seems—considering only about 23,000 of 75,000 District 1199 members voted—that the conflagration has not sucked in much of the membership. They are, unfortunately, likely to suffer the most in a battle that has been partly settled, partly shifted to other ground.

THE STORY INSIDER

and numerous violations of law and the terms of the agreement between RWDSU and the Hospital Union.

The agreement, worked out as a result of meetings during the complicated round of suits and countersuits filed by all three principal parties, gave the Hospital Union the option of remaining as a protected, autonomous unit of RWDSU that would receive a financial settlement over three years to compensate for the withdrawal of District 1199. But the Hospital Union opted for independence. Much to their surprise, since many AFL-CIO unions claim jurisdiction among health-care employees, they were promptly granted a new charter.

"Why should we stay in when we had another option that was more in keeping with our objectives?" Nicholas said. "If someone cut off both of your arms and legs [a reference to the RWDSU attacks on the Hospital Union and the separation of District 1199], why would you stay? We saw that money offer as blood money."

There was dissent among Hospital Union executive board members, and some New York opponents of Turner protested that the rights of District 1199 members had not been sufficiently protected in the agreement. But the majority of the board felt that, "given all the circumstances, it's the best that could be done," said Executive Vice-President Bob Muehlenkamp. Secretary-Treasurer Jerry Brown, who voted against the deal, said, "I felt that the agreement should have given more guarantees for membership rights in their current battle in this [District 1199] election. But we were not able to continue to protect them from outside without risking extinction."



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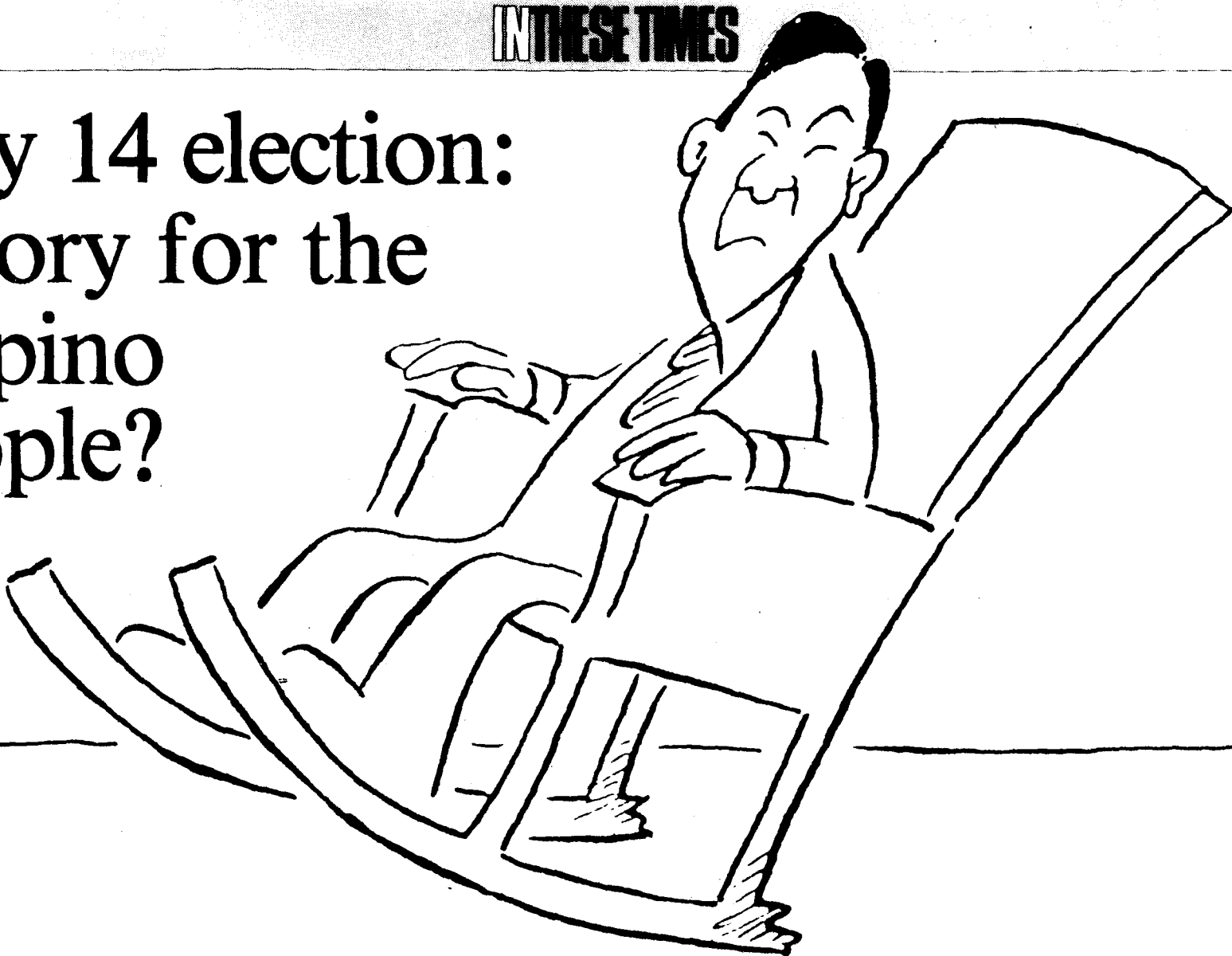
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IN THESE TIMES

May 14 election: victory for the Filipino people?



By A. Lin Neumann

MANILA

"SEND LAWYERS, GUNS AND money 'cause the shit has hit the fan," goes the refrain of a Warren Zevon song. Those lines could easily be the subtitle to the Philippine election story of May 14 as early results put government opponents in the lead. But the final outcome was still very much in doubt as *In These Times* went to press.

On election day at the Pedro Cruz elementary school in San Juan, Metro Manila, attorney Pacifico Tacub tried to maintain a little order on behalf of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), a surprisingly influential poll-monitoring body. Earlier in the day, he had discovered that several precinct voting lists had been switched. So when the time came for vote counting, Tacub pleaded with a journalist, "Please stay. Please. We are helpless."

He then held up his walkie-talkie and asked NAMFREL for reinforcements. In the counting room, the results from the suspicious precincts were mysteriously higher for the ruling New Society Movement (KBL) candidate than they had been in any other precincts at Pedro Cruz.

As Tacub struggled to keep tabs on the count, several other men lurked about the room with their own walkie-talkies. They explained that they were "concerned citizens."

In a neighborhood in Makati, Metro Manila, the voting center was on the property of the local Barangay captain, a government official roughly comparable to a ward boss. A NAMFREL volunteer explained that he had caught several "flying voters" in the precinct who were using bogus registration forms to vote more than once for the government candidate.

In a provincial center in Tarlac, north of Manila, police under command of the mayor refused to release the ballot boxes to election officials. In another area of Metro Manila, a man was beaten and threatened with arrest for questioning other men who had stolen his wife's registration form. The man claimed that they would use it to pad the government's vote.

But none of that was unexpected. Throughout the campaign, President Ferdinand Marcos, who has ruled here

since 1965, and his powerful First Lady Imelda had predicted a KBL landslide. And on the morning of the elections, Marcos went on nationwide TV to predict a 21 to 0 KBL victory in Metro Manila. Imelda Marcos offered thousands of pesos to mayors of towns that voted straight KBL. Barangay captains were given hundreds of pesos (14 pesos equals \$1) to deliver the votes in their area. A popular singer of protest songs, Freddy Aguilar, was offered half a million pesos to sing for a KBL rally. He refused.

Such episodes were generally chalked up to the power of the incumbency. And what a power it is. These National Assembly elections were the first since 1978, when the nation was in the sixth year of martial law, which was nominally lifted in 1981. The 183 seats at stake should have been no contest. A local movement to boycott the polls claimed all along that clean elections were impossible under the Marcos government. The moderate opposition was so badly divided that the family of slain opposition leader Benigno Aquino split over the issue of whether or not to participate. His widow Cory backed running, while his younger brother Agapito led the boycott camp. The evidence from 1978 was clear: in those polls Benigno Aquino, running from prison, lost amid massive fraud in Metro Manila, and only 13 opposition members sat in the parliament.

As May 14 drew near, it looked like the fix was on in a big way. Even Prime Minister Cesar Virata, the regime's point man with the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) and international banks, complained to *In These Times* that overspending by the government was a major problem. His main opponent in his home province of Cavite was a close friend of Imelda Marcos, Helen Benitez, who was running with "madame's support," due to Imelda's irritation at Virata's austere monetary policies. "She is really just spending too much," said Virata, whose aides claimed that Benitez offered 30,000 pesos to Cavite mayors in return for support.

But through it all a group of true believers and moderates vaguely identified with the opposition were building up the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections. Wealthy industrialist Jose Concepcion recruited businessmen, students and housewives—anyone he could find—to donate time and money in an effort to monitor the elections. Following a nationwide re-registration of voters in late March and early April, Concepcion had been outraged. "I have never seen such blatant cheating," he told *In These Times* as he ran down a list of precincts in which the lists were padded, voters were registered several times or whole blocks of registration forms had disappeared into the hands of local officials. The government's Commission on Elections was eventually pressured into accrediting NAMFREL as an official poll-watching body.

Then there was the explosive climate in which every Philippine election is held. More than 90 people died during the May campaign in election-related violence. The Communist New People's Army (NPA) pledged to prevent voting in areas under its control. As a result, the military was "deputized" by the Commission on Elections to safeguard the polls, leading to the dispatch of several battalions of marines to the island of Mindanao to do battle with the rebels.

And while the NPA did threaten the polls in many rural precincts, Gen. Jaime Echeverria, commander of the armed forces in eastern Mindanao, admitted that the military was an intimidating factor to the electorate in some areas. "Yes, I cannot deny that," he told *In These Times*.

Intimidation or not, several administration opponents did not run because they considered the legislature an exercise in futility. This version of a National Assembly was put together by Marcos in 1978 to replace the Philippine Congress, which he disbanded when he declared martial law in 1972. In addition to the

183 seats at stake in the elections, the president retains the right to appoint 17 more members. He has veto power over any legislation, and through the controversial Amendment 6, can override any bill by issuing his own decrees. Up to now, the parliament has been of little interest, with the president ignoring it at will, and Assembly members proposing little independent legislation.

In the wake of the Aquino assassination, however, it was hoped by many that Marcos could be pressured by public opinion into dropping his decree powers and relaxing his hold on the state apparatus. This would allow him to stage a more credible election, which was badly needed to appease his American allies and his international creditors.

But it was not to happen. Enough of

One sign in San Juan read: "Take the money, but vote your conscience."

the moderate opposition went to the polls to make Marcos forget about further major concessions. The justification, according to Sen. Salvador Laurel, chairman of UNIDO, a large moderate coalition, was: "The elections are the last chance to prevent violence here."

In addition, American officials both in Manila and Washington reminded reporters frequently that they were "carefully monitoring" the process. Ronald Reagan went so far as to send a letter to Marcos relating his concern for "free and fair elections."

But when May 14 dawned, the lawyers, guns and money seemed mostly on the government's side. A sign in San Juan summed up the last hope of the Marcos opponents this way: "Take the money, but vote your conscience."

Apparently that happened. NAMFREL, in addition to monitoring the balloting, established an elaborate tallying operation in an exclusive Catholic school in Manila. Its intention was to get a copy of each tally sheet in the more than 85,000 precincts covering the 7,000 Phil-

Continued on page 7

Image-making in Marcos land

On May 15, the day after the elections, President Ferdinand Marcos confidently predicted that the ruling New Society Movement (KBL) would retain overwhelming control of the National Assembly when the final results were tabulated.

Concerning early reports of major KBL losses, Marcos said, "I would presume that our instructions to our people to allow...the opposition to win some seats might have been taken too literally." He then added that the results would allow him to "truthfully say we have presented to the world the image of a free democracy."

IN SHORT

Arafat: "mutual recognition"

Apparently most U.S. media didn't want to hear it. Yasir Arafat's call for the "mutual recognition" of Israel and Palestine in the May 4 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur* was given wide play in Europe, but U.S. reporting was skimpy, reports Allan Solomonow. The PLO leader followed his first public statement to date on mutual recognition with this challenge: "I am ready to work for just, permanent and lasting peace in our efforts through the UN Security Council and I am challenging Israel to follow the same." The Israeli response was quick and familiarly intransigent: "The PLO is not a partner for us."

Arafat's statement came just a week before a House vote that once again disallowed negotiations with the PLO—until they "recognize Israel's right to exist" and "renounce the use of terrorism"—and approved \$1.4 billion for military aid to Israel. The New Jewish Agenda followed up on Arafat's statement with a telegram to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir calling for him to make "every effort to leave the channels open for negotiations."

Down and out in Indiana

The defeat of Rep. Katie Hall (D-IN)—one of two black women Congress members—in her bid for renomination in Indiana's First Congressional District may signal a snag in Jesse Jackson's black empowerment drive. According to Gary's black mayor, Richard Hatcher, Hall drew only 50 percent of the ailing industrial city's black vote in the May 8 primary—far less than the astonishing turnout figures in other parts of the country, and probably 20 percent less than she needed for a win. Frederick Stern reports that this has led some Jackson-watchers to speculate that his gift for getting out the vote may be circumscribed in some areas, like Gary, where black political power is an already-established fact.

A former state senator and one-term Congress member, Hall was counting on her solid left voting record on labor, peace, civil rights and women's issues, a NOW endorsement and a split white vote for her two contenders to assure her victory. Instead, moderate Peter Visclosky won by 2,300 votes, Hall ran second and conservative Lake County Prosecutor Jack Crawford came in a close third.

The double dare

It was all worked out: the three women were to plead guilty to charges of defacing government property at the Women's Peace Encampment last fall in Romulus, N.Y., in return for having their charges reduced to a misdemeanor. But the May 14 plea bargaining in the New Haven District Court didn't go as planned, and the women now face the possibility of a jail sentence, report Carole and Paul Bass. Karin Cope, Marian Vaillant and Sarah Wang were arrested last October 9 after spray-painting over a "no trespassing" sign and spreading yarn across the entrance of the Seneca Falls Army Depot. As previously arranged, the women pleaded guilty in court and offered to pay restitution to charitable or government bodies that "don't kill people." The packed courtroom fell silent when Judge Ellen B. Burns ordered them to pay \$76.61 to the Defense Department as a condition of a 90-day probation period. Putting their principles before pragmatism, the defendants refused to pay. Their attorney, John Williams, said of Burns' sentencing, "It was a classic case of 'You're challenging me? Then that's what I'll do.'" He added, "The next move is up to the judge."

The longest run

Sixteen days after Jim Thorpe's grandchild helped kick off the Olympic torch relay on May 8, other American Indian runners left New York City on the first leg of the Jim Thorpe Longest Run, reports Graham Clarke. The event is actually seven different "spiritual runs" that will merge the final four miles of the 6,000-mile trek, said Chippewa coordinator Dennis Banks. Along the way, the runners' paths will cross remaining pockets of Indian land. On June 12, they'll wind their way through Yale, Okla., home of the Sac and Fox Indians gold medalist Jim Thorpe. Later that month the Indians will stop in Wounded Knee, S.D., for a ceremony in remembrance of the massacre of 1890. In late July the runners will merge in Los Angeles and join with an estimated 10,000 people for the Jim Thorpe Memorial Powwow and Native Games.

What hath wealth wrought?

And you thought the poor had problems. Money, too, can lead to all sorts of maladies, according to a group of psychiatrists who've come to a "sudden appreciation of the emotional problems that wealth can create," according to a recent *New York Times* article. Those stereotyped "poor little rich kids"—bored, apathetic and isolated from others, all because they were deprived of parental love—really do exist, according to John Levy of the C.J. Jung Institute in San Francisco. And their "affluenza," as Levy calls it, often doesn't get sympathy from folks who feel deprived in other ways. Psychiatry's stock solution: a therapeutic redistribution of the wealth.

—Beth Maschinot



What makes Harlem burn? . . . Cutbacks

NEW YORK—Disagreeing with the conventional wisdom that sees arson as the major cause of burned out neighborhoods in urban areas, Harlem community leader Calvin Butts claims that the real culprit is city cutbacks in fire services. Last month the pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church called for additional fire service companies in upper Manhattan and the Bronx to begin to offset the "planned shrinkage" of city services begun in the early '70s.

His demand was echoed by Thomas Gates of the New York City Uniformed Firefighters Association. According to Gates, the 15 more fire companies needed in these New York neighborhoods would cost less than \$15 million a year, money well spent

to protect property and lives.

Butts and Gates base their charges of fire service cutbacks and resultant fire epidemics on research by Rod and Deborah Wallace of the Public Interest Scientific Consulting Service.

Based on fire company records, the Wallaces' research shows how closing 35 fire companies in the '70s in Harlem, the South Bronx and Brooklyn's Brownsville/East New York triggered the collapse of those communities. And contrary to the city's claims, the devastation continues in neighborhoods surrounding those original areas.

According to Butts and Gates, when the New York City Fire Department now cites a decreasing number of fires, it is misleading the public. As Butts put it, the

decrease is a result of the grim fact that "in many of New York's hardest hit communities, there is nothing left to burn."

Gates also criticized the statistics by pointing out New York's massive population decline: "Having fires at the 1967 level is a disgrace because the population of the city is now at [a lower] 1954 level!" Gates added, "People fleeing the first wave of burn-out have brought housing overcrowding to nearby areas which are now ripening for a repeat of the crisis."

Butts also mentioned this "snowball effect" stemming from the initial cutbacks. He pointed out that the neighborhoods receiving the refugees, like the burned out neighborhoods, are "likely not to be equipped, in terms of housing, fire service, jobs and schools, to handle such dramatically inflated population growth." The result is another wave of fire, and then another wave of migration to surrounding neighborhoods.

The Wallaces' research tracks down the specific causes of the fire epidemics that increasingly haunt most major cities now undergoing service cutbacks. Because of the reduced level of service, fire department response to fires is inadequate to put out fires on the first alarm. This means that fire companies must be taken from surrounding areas, and then these areas also become susceptible to multiple alarm fires.

Then, after a major fire, visible damage "marks" the block and landlords prepare to abandon the rest of the buildings by withdrawing maintenance. This makes the entire block a fire trap, and the other buildings burn within a short time. This "mechanism of contagion" forces the population into nearby housing—and leads to the overcrowding that leaves another neighborhood particularly vulnerable to frequent fires.

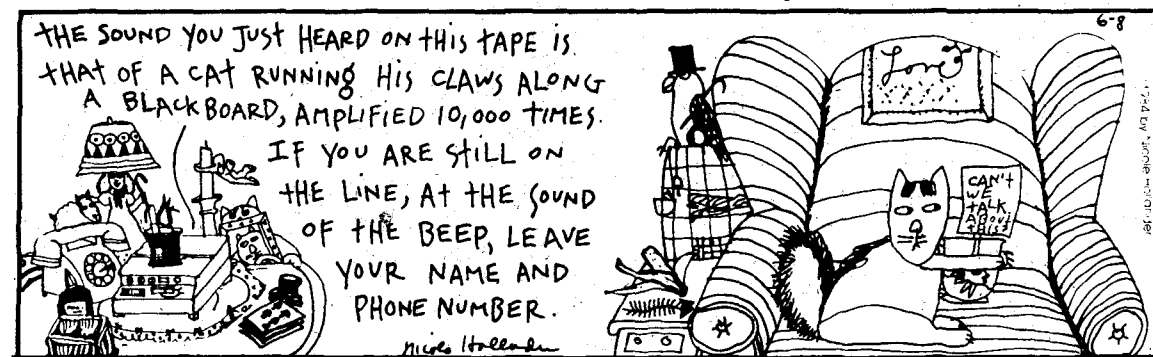
Since the mid-'70s, policymakers in New York and other cities have shifted attention from deployment policies by talking about arson. But according to Rod Wallace, arson behavior tends to occur *after* a block is marked by serious fire. Arson in any case accounts for less than 20 percent of fires, according to the fire department's own records. And arson prevention programs have not reduced the epidemic.

The disastrous effects of the fire service cutbacks in New York have been followed by the Wallaces for nearly a decade. Similar policies are in effect in other cities—including Boston, Newark and Los Angeles—and the Wallaces point out that fire service cutbacks may be the cause of the fire epidemics in those cities as well. Fire service cutbacks are now on the agenda in many other cities, including Chicago.

—Brian D'Agostino

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Jerry Falwell's North Carolina jihad aims to save Jesse Helms

By Alex Charns & Patrick O'Neill

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

“WE NEED A HUNDRED Jesse Helmses in the U.S. Senate, 435 Jesse Helmses in the House,” the

Rev. Jerry Falwell, president of the Moral Majority, exhorted a like-minded flock in North Carolina last summer during a drive to register 200,000 new conservative voters in the state. Why the right-wing voter registration drive? Because incumbent Republican Sen. Helms is facing North Carolina Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. in this year's Senate race and Falwell and the religious right are pledged to help their hero defeat his toughest opponent in years—a popular Democratic governor too liberal for their liking.

But though Falwell *et al.* consider Hunt a dangerous leftist, when the race is over it may take an autopsy to tell the candidates apart. In an effort to appeal to the conservative Tar Heel voters, the liberal governor has taken a rightward turn.

The North Carolina Senate race has been described in leviathan terms by commentators from in and out of state—“a struggle for the soul of the South,” “political holy war” and “the second most important race in '84.” But some political observers here wonder what all the hoopla is about.

Sen. Helms stands against the ERA, busing, abortion, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. national holiday. He supports school prayer, tax credits to discriminatory private schools and favorable tobacco legislation. This has made him a folk hero of sorts—champion of the little guy in the battle against big government. While not necessarily agreeing with all his views, many voters trust Helms as a man of principle who is willing to take a stand on controversial issues, even to his political detriment.

The same is not often said of the governor. His failure to take an early position on some key issues has made “non-voters of a large number of people,” says Phyllis Tyler, a North Carolina journalist. But liberal voters underwhelmed by Hunt may stick with him as the lesser of two evils.

Both candidates are wooing the 2.5 million church-going North Carolinians by pointing out their own religious credentials. And both have come out in favor of school prayer, an important issue in a state where 31 percent of the public school children already engage in some form of teacher-led prayer, according to a recent report.

Over the last year Hunt has steadily lost ground to his Republican rival, some say as a result of his appeals to conservative voters. A *Charlotte Observer* poll last summer showed Hunt with 50 percent of the vote to Helms' 31 percent. But a recent poll showed that Hunt's support had dropped to 46 percent while Helms' had risen to 42 percent.

“As Hunt moves more and more to the right, his supporters lose their ideological fervor,” laments one Hunt backer. “He is now trying to stand on the left shoulder of Jesse.”

But Don Hobart, assistant communications director of the Jim Hunt Committee, disagrees with the notion that the governor is moving to the right. “On some issues, Jim Hunt has taken a hard line.... He's always been conservative.” Hobart describes Hunt's “staunch Baptist” upbringing, his tough stance on crime as governor and his support of prayer in public schools as long-held personal beliefs, not cosmetic political maneuvers. Hunt “did not support the nuclear freeze resolution” because it “sent the wrong signal [to Moscow]” and he is in favor of a “strong defense,” Hobart said. But on social and women's issues, Hunt has been “liberal,” Hobart adds, giving examples such as his support for

the ERA and abortion funding.

Claude Allen, the Helms campaign's press secretary, does not believe Hunt's newly found conservatism is fooling anyone. To Allen, the governor has nothing to lose but his integrity. “Whatever he does, it doesn't seem like he'll lose the support of the left. Hunt has refused to take a position on the issues.”

“He puts his finger up to test the political winds,” Allen says, referring to Hunt's recent public support of school prayer and his switch on defense spending. “All of a sudden [Gov. Hunt] is in support of the president's defense budget,” Allen adds.

As the first black member of Helms' staff, Allen himself is a controversial figure in the state. More than 10 years ago the *Raleigh News and Observer* called Helms “the most notable antagonist of Negro rights [in North Carolina] over the last decade.”

When asked about Helms' former vitriolic defense of segregation, Allen sidestepped the question by saying he wasn't in the state at the time, but now supports Helms because he believes in his philosophy. “That philosophy is free enterprise [under which] blacks can prosper,” he said.

Allen blames the plight of black families on the Ted Kennedys and Jim Hunts who favor big government. “A girl sets

Racial Justice, says, “I would personally urge people to find alternatives [to Hunt], even if it results in Jesse Helms being re-elected to the Senate.”

Foreign policy stands.

Helms' foreign policy stands clearly support all anti-Communist regimes that are friendly to the U.S., and it appears Hunt champions similar positions. On April 3, Hunt released a position paper on defense that would befit a Republican hardliner. Hunt called for increases in defense spending of 5 to 7 percent after inflation, which he claimed was needed to strengthen conventional forces and enhance readiness. He also came out in support of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, an accelerated program to develop the stealth bomber, modernizing the B-52s, more construction of Trident submarines, as well as support for the deployment of Euromissiles. So similar are the positions of Hunt and Helms on defense issues that even Hunt campaign director Joe Grimsley commented to reporters that the candidates had the same views.

Hunt has been evasive, however, about his Central America policy. But he has to stand to the left of Helms, who is a vocal supporter of right-wing presidential candidate—and alleged death squad leader—Roberto D'Aubuisson. The *Albuquerque Journal* reported in January that uniden-

which was formed in 1972 after Helms' election to the Senate. Since then it has raised millions of dollars for conservative candidates through the use of computer technology and national direct mail solicitation. According to the most recent campaign finance reports, Helms' supporters have raised \$4.4 million, while Hunt backers have raised \$2.5 million.

Probably the most controversial aspect of the campaign to date is the use of negative advertising—which has a rich history in North Carolina. In his 1972 Senate race, Helms' campaign posters linked his Democratic opponent, Nick Galifianakis, with presidential candidate George McGovern. Campaign workers recall finding other posters in rural areas with Galifianakis' name changed to appear Russian and a photograph of the Congressman in the foreground and the Kremlin in the background.

This year one Helms ad shows the senator telling of his lonely fight “against the big-spending crowd in Washington” and his battles against “the giveaway” of the Panama Canal, the gasoline-tax increase, a national holiday for Martin Luther King, forced busing and food-stamp abuse. With an American flag perched behind him, the senator tells the TV viewers that the “Lord is giving us just one more chance to save this nation of ours.”

Other Helms ads state his position on an issue and then the bespectacled senator growls at the camera: “Where do you stand, Jim?”

Hunt appears in one TV advertisement and indignantly says, “A lot of people don't know that Jesse Helms fought against tax cuts for the middle class and for tax loopholes for people making more than \$100,000 a year.” One Hunt ad lam-

ELECTIONS



Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. (right) has moved so far to the right that he is now seen as standing on Helms' left shoulder.

up in her own home, is given an income, with the only requirement that she has an illegitimate child.” According to Allen, this type of system “keeps blacks down.” “A person who supports free enterprise can't support prejudice. I don't think Sen. Helms is a racist.”

Whatever Helms' racial views, race will be a significant factor in the election. North Carolina's population is 22 percent black and the senator's reputation among blacks could not be much worse. At last tally, Hunt was perceived as having more than 70 percent of the black vote. While overtly racial appeals are uncommon now, anti-Hunt ads link the governor with Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, presidential candidate the Rev. Jesse Jackson and BLACK PAC (ultra-liberal Julian Bond's PAC). Hunt supporters consider the ads race-baiting.

But Hunt does not have unqualified black support. At least one black civil rights leader withdrew his backing for Hunt after he failed to intervene to stop the execution of convicted murderer James Hutchins who recently died in North Carolina by lethal injection. The Rev. Leon White, director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for

tified sources had credited Helms with helping D'Aubuisson launch his ARENA Party in 1981. Although Helms denies a role in starting ARENA, he has praised D'Aubuisson as “a free-enterprise man and deeply religious.” In a letter to President Reagan last month, Helms demanded that U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Thomas Pickering be dismissed for aiding the candidacy of the victorious Christian Democrat, Jose Napoleon Duarte.

Despite uncertainties about what a vote for Hunt means, most observers feel that he is the only alternative. Campaign expenditures are expected to approach \$20 million and Hunt is the only candidate that can counteract Sen. Helms' Raleigh, N.C.-based National Congressional Club,

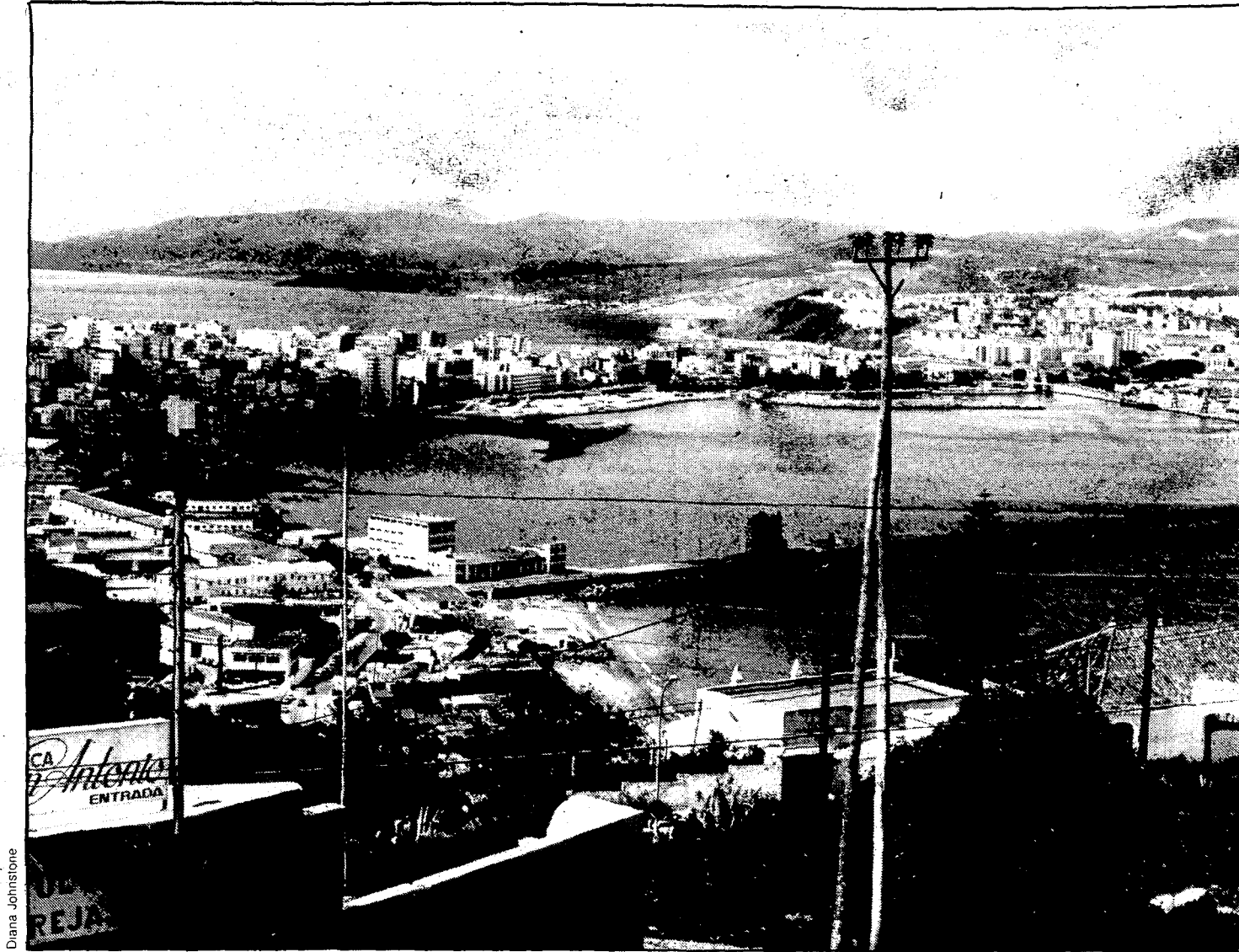
basts Helms for voting for an increase in the federal tobacco tax, even though the measure was a compromise that prevented an even larger increase.

“Clearly, this is the most important statewide election in 33 years. If Hunt can't beat Helms, no one can,” said Joe Hertenberg, former Chapel Hill town council member who is very active in the Democratic Party. “Hunt represents the moderate, or some would say progressive wing of the state Democratic Party, while Helms represents everything that is wretched in the state.”

But many voters have no intention of uprooting and booting their Jesse Helms, dubbed “Senator No” for his obstinance. At least one Helms supporter, Moral Majority leader Falwell, is touting the senator as Big Brother in his conservative vision for the real 1984. “If for some reason a determination were made that we're going to have a benevolent dictatorship and only one person could run it...I wouldn't have to think twice. I'd say Jesse Helms.”

Alex Charns is a Durham, N.C., attorney and free-lance journalist and Patrick O'Neill is a Greenville, N.C., free-lance journalist.

Helms' racial views will be a major influence in the campaign.



Diana Johnstone

SPAIN

Ceuta: hot spot on the Mediterranean?

By Diana Johnstone

M A D R I D

SPAIN'S SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT led by Felipe Gonzalez was elected in October 1982 promising a nationwide referendum on the country's entrance into NATO, which the previous government had hastily approved over widespread opposition. This promise by Gonzalez' Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) was generally interpreted as a sign of Socialist opposition to NATO membership, especially since all polls show a clear majority against NATO.

But now, a year and a half later, it is becoming more and more clear that Gonzalez not only means to keep Spain in NATO, but he is also getting ready to put his charisma on the line to win the Spanish people over to the Atlantic Alliance. To understand some of the factors behind this, a good starting place is Ceuta, on the northernmost point of the Moroccan coast facing Gibraltar.

Ceuta and Gibraltar face each other

across only about nine miles of water, twin sentinels at the narrow passage from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. They have much in common. Both are military bases. Just as Gibraltar is a British enclave on the Spanish coast, Ceuta is a Spanish enclave on the Moroccan coast.

But to most Spaniards, there is also a big difference: Gibraltar, a piece of Spain captured by British imperialism, should be returned to Spain, but Ceuta, and its sister enclave Melilla, some 200 miles east on the Moroccan coast toward Algeria, are old and natural extensions of Spain itself.

"They are not Moroccan cities captured by Spain, but cities built by Spaniards, with Spanish inhabitants," a Spanish Communist Party spokesman said. The Spanish right, as can easily be imagined, is much more vehement. Ceuta and Melilla are sacred unalienable components of Eternal Spain.

Ceuta has a population of about 80,000—including 21,000 military men and perhaps 5,000 ethnic Moroccans, who mostly live in squalid slums and shantytowns on the inland end of the peninsula that curves around the harbor. On a sunny Sunday, it takes only an hour or two to tour the peninsula by taxi, stopping to admire the stupendous views. On weekdays, the center is clogged by mobs of day-trip shoppers who have taken the ferry over from Algeciras to load up on duty-free goodies, like Japanese stereo sets and cameras.

Ceuta is basically a Spanish military base with a PX open to the public. Word has it that it is also a transit point for drug smuggling from Morocco just down the road.

The best real estate belongs to the military: army, navy, Spanish foreign legion. Legionnaires can be seen running around what would make great holiday camping grounds, playing soldier, high as kites. When it isn't booze, it's hashish. Or cocaine, or heroin.

In all of Spain, drug consumption has been booming. The Mafia, incidentally, has been "developing" the Spanish coast across the way, building those big foreign tourist hotels and vacation residences that are turning the local folk into jealous outsiders in their own land all along

southern coasts.

"Legionnaires to the death!" is their slogan. The townspeople don't seem crazy about them. In the democratic elections after the death of Franco, Ceuta elected a Socialist mayor. Opinion is "polarized," according to my young taxi driver. Does that mean there are disagreements between the military and civilians? "Oh no," he replied easily, "if we disagreed with the military, they'd shoot us."

His comment says a lot about Spanish democracy. The citizenry went just about as far as they dared to go when they elected Socialists. Now the Socialists have to keep the military contented. Spain is a country visibly occupied by its own armed forces.

Army's role.

Angel Vinas, foreign minister Fernando Moran's leading advisor, said in an interview with *In These Times* that the government's biggest problem is the need to redeploy the armed forces. "The present deployment patterns are the outgrowth of the Franco period when they played an internal security role," Vinas said. "Their purpose was to quell internal discontent. Thus they were deployed around the major cities. This is absolutely nonsensical. They must be deployed according to strategic plans to deter an adversary."

The post-Franco government thus feels the need to point to an external enemy, or potential enemy, in order to pry the army away from Madrid, Barcelona and the other cities whose inhabitants are the potential adversaries (and virtual prisoners) of the huge fascist army built by Franco. Vinas, an affable young economist with no apparent grudge against anyone, has led the way in figuring out the uses of a potential external adversary. Some call him Spain's "little-Kissinger" for his enthusiastic plunge into *realpolitik*.

The weight of Spanish forces "must be shifted toward national borders, and especially toward the south because we are a frontier country with Africa," says Vinas. "Our main strategic task must be defense of the strategic axis Balearic Islands-Gibraltar-Canary Islands." In the middle of that axis stands Ceuta. Ceuta and Melilla are the only really vulnerable points of Spanish territory.

When Spanish Foreign Minister Moran stopped in Morocco shortly after bread riots in that country in January, Moroccan newspapers devoted their front pages to a heretofore unheard of "Sebta Liberation Front" (Sebta is Arabic for Ceuta), which called on the Spanish to leave the "occupied city." Since he organized his "green march" into the Sahara in 1975 (after reportedly getting the green light from the CIA's ubiquitous roving ambas-

sador Gen. Vernon Walker), Morocco's King Hassan has from time to time asserted his claim to Ceuta and Melilla, and has hinted strongly that a deal has been reached to hand over Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco whenever Gibraltar is returned to Spain. King Hassan has won backing for his claim from Organization of African Unity states, and indeed there is not a government in the world that seems eager to support Spanish rights in Ceuta and Melilla.

All this throws the Spanish nationalist right into a frenzy of self-righteous paranoia. As usual, they perceive that the whole world is against Spain, starting with those traditional enemies Britain and France, followed closely by the Yankees with their CIA and the Russian imperialists, both of which stir up Third World xenophobia. From the far right to the far left, it is clear to most political observers that the CIA has fomented King Hassan's claims in order to have an instrument of blackmail to use against the Spanish government. King Hassan, after all, owes everything to the U.S. and is a pet of the CIA.

Felipe Gonzalez "feels the need to bow to *realpolitik*," Thierry Maliniak wrote in *Le Monde* in June 1983. "The first socialist government since the civil war, formed in a climate of uncertainty, feels vulnerable. Should Morocco, Washington's privileged ally, put on pressure to recover Ceuta and Melilla, the two Spanish *presidios* on the North African coast, Mr. Gonzalez would find himself in a difficult position with the armed forces."

In short, if Spain does not behave, Washington can let loose King Hassan to organize another "green march" into Ceuta and Melilla, whereupon the Spanish armed forces would pull a *golpe* and overthrow the elected government in Madrid. What matters is that this threat is *felt* by all concerned.

Fear of a military coup is why the centrist government headed by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo hastily pushed through the decision to join NATO in October 1981. The Congress had been captured and held prisoner all night in an abortive military coup the previous February, just as Calvo Sotelo was about to take office, and fear of *golpismo* was in the air. But, says Vinas, in his eagerness to get Spain into NATO, Calvo Sotelo "mishandled public relations policy regarding the advantages and disadvantages of joining NATO."

And after all, aren't elected governments these days to sell policies to the public that were decided by obscure powers and processes?

"The present Spanish government has great credibility on the NATO issue in the eyes of the public," Vinas told *In These Times*. "It has a chance to win a referendum. Spanish public opinion is not like the German or Dutch on this. The major segment of the population has confidence in the government." A referendum will be held early next year, and Gonzalez will campaign hard to get a result that counts as both an endorsement of NATO and of his own government. Only the wording of the referendum remains a mystery.

Vinas has been in the forefront of dreaming up good reasons to join NATO. The reasons involve making it appear that the Gonzalez government, unlike its predecessor, is using Spanish reluctance to join NATO to cut a better deal. Thus it is being hinted that Spain is being allowed into the Common Market as a necessary reward for joining NATO.

Spain now expects to sign the European Economic Community treaty this year. "There is no legal link between entrance into NATO and into the EEC," Vinas said. "But there is a certain linkage on the basis of how the referendum is held. It would be impossible to vote to continue NATO membership if Spain were not first let into the EEC. So in fact through public opinion linkage has been established."

The Spanish desire to join the Common Market is psychological and emotional. The economic benefits are dubious. But there is a deep desire after the ostracism of the Franco regime to be "part of Europe." And NATO and the EEC seem to be seen as symbols of this belonging to the "modern" world.

There are also anti-American touches

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to the pro-NATO argument. Thirty years of bilateral military agreements with the U.S. never did a thing to help get the Spanish armed forces off the backs of the Spanish people. There was no redeployment away from cities. The U.S. got unlimited rights to use bases in Spain without even a promise to defend Spain in return. These "unequal treaties" are widely resented.

The Socialist government's sales pitch is that because of its greater popularity, it can get a better deal from its allies and do a better job of persuading Spaniards to accept it.

Vinas' cleverest idea is that "Spanish membership in NATO offers interesting prospects for reconciling national and international interests in the North African zone." Ceuta could be transformed from a Spanish liability to a Spanish asset in dealing with NATO if it helps justify the southward deployment that is currently being sought by the Reagan administration (over protests from Northern Europe) in its eagerness to get its European allies to help police the Third World.

References to the dangers of "destabilization," "Islamic fanaticism" and eventually "Soviet expansionism" in North Africa can both keep the Spanish armed forces happy and enhance Spain's value to NATO in the eyes of the Reagan administration. Of course, it also means feeding East-West tensions, or more precisely, the dangerous tendency to identify North-South tensions in East-West terms.

What is real in all this? This year, for the first time in Spanish history, more money is being spent on the armed forces than on education. The armed forces, despite initial reluctance to take orders from Americans, now clearly want to join NATO, to get all the fancy new equipment the Spanish taxpayers are going to purchase from the U.S. In their fear of a *golpe*, the Spanish Socialists are ready to "modernize" and thus strengthen their armed forces.

And to justify all this, Felipe Gonzalez must lead a campaign for integration into NATO that will inevitably mobilize the media to convince skeptical public opin-

ion that Spain must help defend "the West" from a "Soviet threat."

"Spain must assume its responsibilities in the collective defense of the West," Felipe Gonzalez said in an interview in Paris on May 6. Promising that a referendum for integration into the Atlantic Alliance would be held next year, Gonzalez added that he did not believe the Spanish people would "opt for neutrality," and that neither he nor other main political forces in Spain "would accept it" if they did.

Gonzales was on his way to Denmark and Finland, where he spoke out against unilateral steps toward nuclear disarmament.

This is the first of a series of reports from Spain.

Marcos

Continued from page 3

ippine islands. The results were accredited by the pollwatchers from the Commission on Elections who were present in the precinct. They were then relayed by NAMFREL volunteers to Operation Quick Count, organized in a gymnasium lined with toteboards and computers. The Commission on Elections results are not expected to be official until the end of this week.

But last week NAMFREL's count was broadcast throughout the provinces and bannered in the national news dailies. The KBL lost.

In Manila, it was 15 to 6 for the opposition. Nationwide, as of May 16, the administration was trailing by four seats in the national total, even though NAMFREL had been able to cover only 170 of the 183 races due to a shortage of volunteers in many remote areas.

KBL panic.

The action sent a wave of apparent panic through the KBL. A number of prominent cabinet ministers were either defeat-

ed in the early totals or were trailing badly. Marcos summoned the American TV networks, and in an early May 15 morning TV interview told CBS news that the KBL was winning all but 45 of the races despite the fact that no other results besides NAMFREL's were publicly available.

But the NAMFREL operation had emboldened people to take an interest in the election's outcome. Last week Concepcion dashed from precinct to precinct, checking on reports of ballot tampering. And Radio Veritas, an outspoken Roman Catholic station, went on the air around the clock with results and reports of alleged cheating in the city halls where the votes were being tabulated.

And the cheating appeared to be long underway. In Makati, a close race between Ruperto Gaité of the KBL and Aurora Pijuan-Manotoc, a former beauty queen (whose first husband Tommy is married to the president's daughter Imee), was being closely watched as reports reached NAMFREL of temporarily missing ballot boxes after the initial voting.

Late May 14, thousands of Manotoc supporters staged a vocal rally outside city hall. By the next day, Makati's tough-guy mayor had filled city hall with baton-wielding local militia. At the same time his office circulated "official results" showing Gaité with a 4,000-vote margin. The bizarre scene continued as UNIDO lawyers and KBL officials went over the vote count inside the hall. No official results have yet been released. If the fix was on in Makati, it probably happened late May 14 while the boxes were out of sight. Thus it will be a difficult case to prove.

In Pasay City on election eve another mayor violated the election code by entering a precinct with armed guards. The count was suspended when NAMFREL and UNIDO observers fled in fear. Confronted later that night, the mayor denied any wrongdoing, saying, "Don't talk to me about the election code. I don't know anything about the election code." The KBL candidates won in Pasay City.

In Quezon City 35 late election returns mysteriously appeared in the hands of a Commission on Elections official. In Manila, the opposition charged the KBL with delaying the count.

In the southern province of Antique, following a massacre of seven opposition supporters the day before the voting, an urgent telegram was sent to NAMFREL asking for foreign correspondents and

poll watchers to guarantee the safety of opposition candidates whose early lead in the polls was being reversed in the counting. Similar stories circulated last week as the KBL appeared to be making a bid to complete during the counting what it had failed to do with election-day fraud at the polls.

During a chat with reporters at NAMFREL headquarters, a source close to the U.S. embassy in Manila said he was alarmed at what he saw on the horizon. "If what they [the KBL] are doing is what it looks like they're doing, it's a bad, bad mistake." The official praised the nearly 85 percent voter turnout and said any reversal of the opposition trend through fraud would demonstrate "that Marcos is really out of touch with the people."

Should the opposition gain a substantial minority in the Assembly, it will not fundamentally alter Marcos' rule. But it will alter the ease with which he exercises his power. He would be weakened by investigating committees and calls for impeachment.

For now, Marcos is saying little publicly. But there are rumors afloat that Commission on Elections officials were berated by the first lady in the palace for their inability to deliver a satisfactory result. And all the while the opposition lawyers are standing by, ready to mount challenges to the results should they turn sour and defend their allies should the guns be unleashed.

Concepcion called the May 14 results "a victory for the Filipino people." That may be a bit strong, but the results did apparently demonstrate that Filipinos were willing to give a parliamentary struggle one more chance. Should that option prove futile, the guns may not all be on the government's side.

A. Lin Neumann reports for several publications from the Philippines.

BEQUESTS

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SOVIET



from romance to reality

Russian Women: Two Stories

By I. Grekova

(Translated by Michel Petrov)

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 304 pp

Moscow Women

By Carola Hansson and Karin Liden

Pantheon Books, 200 pp

Three Russian Women Poets

Translated & edited by Mary Maddock

The Crossing Press, 109 pp

Women and Russia

By Tatyana Mamonova

Beacon Press, 273 pp

By Rochelle Ruthschild

FOR MOST OF THE AMERICAN left, the romance with the Soviet Union has long since come to an end. To be sure, a few diehards still cling to the old dreams, but for the majority, all that remain are bitterness and recriminations. New passions—China, Cuba, Nicaragua—have replaced the old. There is also a fervent desire not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

This is too bad. Although the Soviet Union can certainly be faulted for many things, it is still the oldest surviving socialist state. Its suppression of dissent, its bureaucracy, its contribution to the arms race may outrage us, but it has also fostered serious attempts at social change. One of the most notable has been the emancipation of women.

The Soviets do not help their own case. For years they insisted that there was no problem in the USSR—women's liberation had been achieved. By the '60s, when more critical sociological studies, articles and the influential short story "A Day Like Any Other" by Natalia Baranskaya appeared, this front began to crack. Most of this material remains untranslated. U.S. readers have had only scholarly studies and an occasional literary translation to learn more about Soviet women. An exception is William Mandel's *Soviet Women*, which gives information on Soviet emancipation efforts.

Several recently published books provide a fuller picture of the lives of women in the USSR. Two are decidedly unofficial. *Moscow Women* consists of transcripts of interviews that two Swedish journalists conducted and then smuggled out of the country. *Women and Russia* contains selections from *samizdat* feminist writings. *Russian Women* features two pieces by the popular and officially approved Soviet writer I. Grekova. *Three Russian Women Poets* contains excerpts from the work of three nonconformist women poets, Marina Tsvetaeva, Anna Akhmatova and Bella Akhmadulina.

Moscow Women.

Moscow Women, interviews with 13 Soviet women conducted in spring 1978, gives some insight into the everyday lives behind the propaganda slogans. The women interviewed are by no means a cross-section of the Soviet female population, however. They are well-educated urban, almost all ethnically Russian, mainly from the intelligentsia, with material resources and survival skills that these characteristics imply.

Nevertheless, these women provide more specific information about Soviet-style emancipation through what they say and what they take for granted. For example, they simply accept the idea of access to education and a career, the source of much anxiety in the U.S. There is no Soviet "fear of success" syndrome. And anyone familiar with the scarcity and expense of decent child care in the U.S. will marvel at the options available to Moscow women.

Anatomy may not be destiny in education and, to some extent, in careers, but traditional Russian beliefs about sex roles remain strong. Even the most independent women interviewed adhere to them. Lida, a never-married single mother who "wanted to have a child, not a family," is relieved that she had a boy and concerned that "he not become a sissy," that he be "manly, courageous and bold." Girls would be harder to raise, she confesses, because as a tomboy, she "never developed my feminine side." The inconsistencies between her beliefs and her practice remain unexamined.

The woman who has most thoroughly

emancipated herself, Nadezhda Pavlovna, subscribes to separate but equal roles for the sexes. To her it is "perfectly natural" for women almost exclusively to staff day-care centers. At home, women should be "tender and emotional," men should be "serious and pragmatic."

It is well known that in their crash program of modernization the Soviets have slighted the consumer and service sectors. They have been helped by the continued popularity of the feminine mystique, Soviet-style. All of the Moscow women interviewed accepted the housework and child care as primarily women's work. Although it gives instances of sharing domestic chores, this book does not dispel the idea that the double burden of work inside and outside the home remains the norm for Soviet females.

Soviet society is often castigated as puritanical for its strict prohibition of pornography, its lack of sex education and its homophobia. If the accounts in *Moscow Women* are typical, the attitude toward heterosexual experimentation is actually quite tolerant. Early sexual encounters are the norm, with little stigma or guilt attached to them. The usual complications of Soviet sex life are reported here—healthy fear of the pill, inadequate and unsuitable contraceptive devices and reliance on abortion as the primary form of birth control.

How far the Soviets have come is poignantly illustrated in the interview with Alevtina Giorgievna, a pensioner in her 70s and the only representative of peasant women in this book. Her struggles with poverty, wartime suffering and opportunities for women opened up by the Soviet Union's need for labor power give a broader perspective on the changes wrought by the Soviet experiment. They also remind us of the importance of government support for social change and the complex nature of any attempt to challenge traditional customs.

Women and Russia.

The Soviets have carefully separated the emancipation of women from feminism and condemned the latter as "bourgeois" or "liberal." Nevertheless, the second wave of feminism reached Soviet shores, and in 1979 the first *samizdat* (self-published) feminist journal, *Women and Russia*, appeared. *Women and Russia* is a compilation of articles from the first five issues of the journal and the most extensive sampling of Soviet feminist writing in English.

The essays are varied, touching many of the same themes as *Moscow Women* does—to have or not to have children, the disasters of assembly-line abortions and painful childbirth, inadequate sup-

port services for women, little change in domestic child-care, cooking and cleaning responsibilities, troublesome relations between the sexes at work and in the home.

This anthology shows that Soviet society is far from monolithic. It includes essays by and about unskilled women workers, successful career women, drop outs, drug addicts, dissidents and convicts. Proclaiming the "right to be myself," a Soviet lesbian describes coming to terms with her homosexuality.

The Soviet Union is a multi-cultural society, in which the non-Russian population may soon become the majority. Of all the books reviewed here, only *Women and Russia* reflects the diversity. In the section entitled "Foremothers," a short essay by Z. Sinanay describes her grandmother, an independent native of Kazakhstan, well-versed in traditional hunting, fishing and herbal healing skills. A fascinating piece by O. Kurbangaeva of Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, explores the matriarchal traditions of her homeland in Central Asia.

In contrast to most of the other authors in this anthology, Kurbangaeva is more sympathetic than critical. She denounces the patriarchal customs of Islam still prevalent in her region and praises Soviet policies that helped free women from this yoke. Approximately 20 percent of the USSR's population is of Islamic heritage. Yet women of these nationalities need only look across the border to Iran to see how much better the fare under Soviet rule.



The feminist writers in *Women and Russia* critically examine women's socialization. In a provocative discourse, E. Alexandrova discusses "Why Soviet Women Want to Get Married." Hers is one of the few essays with a historical perspective. She explores the progressive impulse that inspired early Soviet legislation on marriage and the family and its

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W O M E N ,

transformation into policies favoring the traditional family unit. According to Alexandrova, in destroying the old patriarchy, the Soviet regime has simply replaced it with a new super-patriarchy. The new ideology, like the old, seeks to convince women that only as wives and mothers can they achieve true happiness.

In an essay entitled "We Need Peace and We Need the World," (the word *mir* has both meanings), Alexandrova explores the militarization of Soviet society. In her view, the traumatic memory of the Nazi invasion and World War II, when at least 20 million Soviets died, is now used to encourage Soviet involvement in the arms race, in the name of peace.

This is a rich and rewarding anthology that can be nibbled, like *zakuski* (appetizers), or devoured, like hearty *borshch*.

Russian Women.

Popular novels can tell as much about a society as great literature. A good example is Alexandra Kollontai's novel about emancipated Soviet women in the 1920s, *Red Love*. Kollontai (1872-1952) was the foremost Bolshevik feminist and critic of traditional sexual mores. For western readers thirsty for more information about Soviet life, I. Grekova's two stories, translated by Michel Petrov and issued under the rather misleading title of *Russian Women*, are enlightening.

I. Grekova ("Ms. X") is the pseudonym of Yelena Sergeyevna Ventsel, a mathematician born in 1907. She began her writing career at age 50, having risen to full professorship at a university. The

Kovaleva, director of a Moscow computer institute, and Vitaly Plavnikov, her young hairdresser. Unlike Kovaleva's privileged, college-student sons, Plavnikov is a genuine working-class hero whose life reflects some of the ravages and dislocations of the postwar generation. An orphan raised in a children's home, he has been reunited with his alcoholic father, his "too religious" stepmother and the two sisters with whom he lives in cramped housing.

Desperate to escape his living situation, he drops out of school, rents a "tiny" private room from "an old lady" and becomes a hairdresser trainee. Self-improvement is Vitaly's goal. He carries a notebook to record "various ideas," has a plan for self-education, chooses clients, friends and even lovers on the basis of the knowledge they can impart or their hair type. Vitaly's involvement with Maria Vladimirovna's secretary, Galya, ends in disaster when Vitaly explains that he's "exhausted all possibilities with her head." Besides, Galya's living situation ("one room, with a mother and sister living in it") is no improvement on his own.

Vitaly is not simply a heartless cad. He weeps when he remembers his treatment at the children's home and seeks to find an outlet for his creativity in hairdressing, only to be thwarted by jealous co-workers and corrupt supervisors. He mourns his mother, who died when he was two weeks old, as "an intelligent woman," and no doubt Maria Vladimirovna serves as a surrogate mother. Both profit from the interchange. Plavnikov gains know-



I. Grekova ("Ms. X")

leva's husband was one of the USSR's 20 million war casualties and that Kovaleva raised them herself while attending sufficiently to her professional development to become director of a computer institute.

The personal costs are high. Plagued by unreliable subordinates and ensnared by bureaucratic demands, Kovaleva gives most of her energy to administration. Her time, as she says, is "completely shredded," and she must squeeze out a few hours for her one passion—solving math problems. "I've lived a long life and can state authoritatively that nothing—neither love, nor motherhood—nothing in this world yields as much happiness," she says.

Stern and sentimental, Kovaleva is the epitome of the self-made Soviet woman. She is capable of chastising a male caller for assuming that she is a secretary, but she would probably be horrified to be called a feminist. Yet many of the frustrations in her work are similar to those detailed by Svetlana Sonova and Galina Grigorieva in "Interview with a Career Woman" in the *Women and Russia* anthology.

Sonova's stories of bureaucratic inefficiency, bungling and outright corruption mirror those in "Ladies' Hairdresser," but she is far more acute in exploring the differences in treatment, career expectations and support for professional women. Sonova's comments about the dominance of masculine attitudes in the work world will certainly seem familiar, although her remedies, like Grekova's, reflect the belief that emancipation should not erase traditional sex differences.

If Grekova's portraits do reflect typical sexual mores, Soviets suffer neither from religious guilt nor Freudian angst about their sexuality. The protagonists in "Ladies' Hairdresser" are essentially asexual, perfectly happy to sublimate their passions in their work. In "Hotel Manager," the main characters satisfy their sexual appetites with little fanfare and none of the obsessive anxiety found in many American literary works.

Yet traditional taboos still hold sway in one sense. In Grekova's stories, men are for sex and women are for friendship. Same-sex bonding is strong but never sexual.

Three Russian Women Poets.

In Russia, poets are subjects of adulation reserved here for stars such as Michael Jackson. Ask Russians to choose their favorite poets, and it is quite likely that several women will be at the top of the list. The anthology *Three Russian Women Poets* features Anna Akhmatova, Marina Tsvetaeva, Bella Akhmadulina,

translated and edited by Mary Maddock.

The three exemplify the dilemmas of modern Russian history, encapsulating the choices of many intellectuals and their powerlessness as they were swept up in revolution, social transformation, purge and war.

The bulk of Tsvetaeva's adult life was spent outside the Soviet Union. In 1922, at the age of 30, she, her husband Sergei Efron and family emigrated to Prague and then Paris. Ostracized by the emigre community because of Efron's rumored Soviet sympathies and blacklisted by the Soviets for her emigration, Tsvetaeva worked in isolation. She returned to the USSR in 1939 to rejoin her husband. Unbeknown to her, he had already been purged and shot. She found her daughter and sister exiled to a provincial village where, working as a housemaid, she was soon fired. Despondent and isolated, she committed suicide in August 1941, two months after the Nazi invasion of Russia.

Although she had many opportunities to emigrate, Anna Akhmatova chose to remain in her homeland, writing in 1922, "I am not one of those who left the land to the mercy of its enemies." The choice was not easy. Her first husband, Nikolai Gumilev, also a poet, was shot by the Soviets in 1921 as a counterrevolutionary. Her son Lev, imprisoned three times by Stalin, was finally freed in 1956. During World War II, Akhmatova experienced a brief moment of official acceptance. This ended abruptly after the war. Only under Khrushchev in 1958 was she rehabilitated. In the early '60s she traveled abroad twice, to receive awards not bestowed upon her in her native land—an Italian literary prize and an Oxford honorary degree. She died in her beloved city of Leningrad in 1966 at age 77.

Bella Akhmadulina is of a different generation. Born in 1937, the year of the great purge trials, she was 16 when Stalin died. Although expelled from her literary institute for her "apolitical stance" and accepted in the Writer's Union only as a translator, she has been published (first in 1962). She bridges both the dissident and official worlds. She was reprimanded for contributing to the unauthorized anthology *Metropol*, yet her work is popular and accepted by Soviet authorities.

Three Russian Women Poets provides a fair sampling of these women's work. Two introductions, by Edward J. Brown and Mary Maddock, cover similar ground. A longer introduction, placing each poet's work in the fuller social context, would have been helpful. As it is, the biographical information included is selective. For example, Tsvetaeva's lesbian loves are not mentioned. (Information about Tsvetaeva's poems to women is provided by Zhanna Ivina in *Women and Russia*.)

All four books demonstrate that there is much more to the American left than learn about the Soviet experiment in women's liberation. The Soviet record is certainly blemished, yet we need to know more—not only about the failures but about the successes. Furthermore, opportunities for mutual exchange between Soviet and American women would be beneficial. Soviet women could learn from critiques of sex-role stereotyping and women's labor in the home, while American women could profit from examining the importance of government support and broad-based social policy goals in emancipating not only an elite but the majority of women. ■

Rochelle Ruthchild is affiliated with the Russian Research Center in Cambridge, Mass., and teaches in the graduate program of Vermont College at Norwich University.



two stories are "Ladies' Hairdresser," first published in *Novyi Mur* in 1963, and "The Hotel Manager" from 1976.

The first story, by far the more successful of the two, dates from the Khrushchev "thaw" after Stalin's death, during which literature critical of Soviet reality was published. It concerns the budding friendship between Marya Vladimirovna

ledge and encouragement. Kovaleva gets compliments for her hairdos and a surrogate son who demands little.

The character of Maria Vladimirovna reveals much about the state of mind of Soviet female professionals. Most of Kovaleva's personal history is unstated. Both of her sons were born in wartime. The reader is left to surmise that Kova-

LETTERS

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STAYING ALIVE

AT THE OUTSET YOUR EDITORIAL ON Jesse Jackson (*ITT*, April 18) presented him in a favorable manner. However, you, like the mass media, are guilty of keeping the Jackson-"Hymie," Farrakhan-Coleman issue alive.

It is now time to put these incidents to rest and focus on what Rev. Jackson stands for in his campaign: social justice, peace and humanism. Your note: "Jackson's worst side has come out in the flap over his 'Hymie' remarks" (in bold type) is disturbing.

True, it is most unfortunate Jackson made the statement, though many people, to this day, do not know what the word really means. Yet a real "worst side" is the many threats on his life—which have not been publicized; the insults and harassment, including conspiracy, that have been carried out against his "Rainbow Coalition." His California office was bombed, his workers were held hostage at an office on the East coast. As a man over 40, he was called a "fair haired boy" by a Rabbi on TV. Ted Koppel compared his campaign to an Amos and Andy show, to name a few.

Let's lay the "Hymie" issue to rest and get on with the more important matters in this country that concern us: the economy, the destitute, the "locked out," racism, the threat of a holocaust by nuclear warfare that Rev. Jackson addresses.

—Dora Henderson
Silver Spring, Md.

RESTRAINT

THIS LETTER CONCERNS PAT AUFDERHEIDE's review of the film *Splash* (*ITT*, April 25). I am not questioning her comments about the film, only the tale from Greek mythology. She stated that Ulysses had his ears plugged when he had his encounter with the Sirens. Ulysses did not have his ears plugged, he had his crew lash him up to the mast and ordered them to keep sailing no matter what he told them.

—Arthur Lumany
San Francisco

TUNING IN TO THE WORLD

AS THE ADMINISTRATION'S DISTORTIONS and inaccuracies on areas like Central America grow ever more blatant, access to accurate news sources becomes even more crucial. Last fall, I became an avid listener of short-wave radio. Now, when an international crisis occurs, like last month's disclosure of CIA involvement in the mining of Nicaraguan harbors, I can immediately follow a broad spectrum of international reaction.

The BBC reported that even such newspapers as the *Daily Mirror* and the *Financial Times*, hardly the revolutionary vanguard, soundly condemned the action as a war-like act. Radio Havana mentioned that the governments of Belgium, Canada, Spain and Denmark denounced the mining as a deliberate violation of international law. Radio Canada, however, reported a more ambivalent attitude within the Canadian government. Prime Minister Trudeau at first asserted that U.S. involvement in the mining hadn't been completely proven.

Stiff criticism from opposition parties, though, prompted Trudeau to say that the Canadian position on Nicaragua would be re-evaluated on the return of the Canadian external affairs minister from a tour of Central America. Radio Moscow pointed out that the Senate resolution passed by members of the President's own party represented an exceptionally serious setback for the administration. Interestingly enough, I've been unable to receive Radio Nicaragua this week which I was tuning in fairly clearly before.

Small portable short-wave sets (such as the Sony 6500W) can be obtained for under \$100. Some very helpful publications exist explaining short-wave and providing frequencies (which change periodically according to sunspot activity). One of these is the *Review of International Broadcasting*, edited by Glenn Hauser (Box 6287, Knoxville, TN 37914, \$18 a year for 12 issues). Another is the *Shortwave Newsletter*, P.O. Box 526,

Clinton, WA 98236. A comprehensive list of all world services and frequencies is printed in the *World Radio TV Handbook*, edited by J.M. Frost (originating in Denmark, available in the U.S. through Billboard Publications, Inc., 1515 Broadway, New York, NY 10036).

Nearly all of the international stations have English-language services. For listeners with some knowledge of foreign language, the range of international perspectives is even larger. On the Russian language domestic service, for example, Pershing and cruise missiles are consistently referred to as "first-strike weapons."

Last night, I listened to a Costa Rican report from Managua on the Nicaraguan government's latest declaration extending the war zone to the entire country. Thus, through short-wave, one can follow the latest developments in Central America and elsewhere and use this knowledge to effect social change more intelligently.

—Susan Rubinyi-Anderson
Ashland, Ore.

WOUNDED KNEE

MARK PERRY'S "AIM'S LAST STAND" (*ITT*, May 2) was a compelling account of the complex and desperate situation facing Native Americans in South Dakota, but not of conditions in Wounded Knee.

Of 590 people at Wounded Knee, likely the poorest community on the Pine Ridge Reservation, only seven have jobs. This past winter people were burning furniture and parts of their houses to keep warm. But recently, aided by the Tiyoospaye Crisis Center, a relief organization in Denver founded by people from Wounded Knee, these people have begun moving toward self-sufficiency. Through the winter, the Crisis Center provided Wounded Knee with food and clothing in caravans of trucks from Denver. The effort has been supported by interested people in Boulder and Denver.

With the advent of spring, the thrust of the relief effort has changed. The latest truck caravan brought three rototillers, fencing supplies, shovels, rakes and hoes and about 2,000 pounds of seed. The people of Wounded Knee are putting in gardens on a large scale for the first time since the early '60s. This is having effects on the village that go beyond the growing of food. A local coordinating body, the Wacipi Committee, has developed to oversee the gardening and the resurgence of traditional cultural activities (the last caravan also brought a ceremonial drum). A village cleanup has begun to clear trash and junk out of yards and make room for gardens.

"What we've been doing," said Leola One Feather, secretary of the Wacipi Committee, "is finding things for people to do to help each other, without working in the tribal structure or any

other structure. We asked for spiritual help in this, and they told us everything's going to grow real good and it's going to be beautiful, and we're not going to be hungry next winter. Our nucleus is going to be in a governing body that has a spiritual stronghold and practices Lakota philosophy and thought." A direct, non-political relief effort has made this possible.

The Tiyoospaye Crisis Center and Wacipi Committee have many ideas for the future. They are arranging for the release of wild horses on the reservation and for the reintroduction of the buffalo. A reforestation effort is planned to replace elms that have succumbed to Dutch Elm Disease. The Wacipi Committee intends to reform the structure of health care at Wounded Knee, and to improve other aspects of life in the village. The people of the village wholeheartedly support these developments.

The Tiyoospaye Crisis Center exhausted its budget with the recent purchase of the roto-tillers and gardening equipment. There is still an urgent need for food, seeds, gardening supplies, fencing material, horse-drawn plows, carts and other horse tack, chain saws, carpentry tools and building supplies to construct root cellars and chicken coops, fruit tree saplings and canning equipment and jars. Tax deductible contributions are welcome.

The Tiyoospaye Crisis Center is located at 4031 Osage St., Denver, CO 80211, (303) 477-8090.

—Jeremiah I. Kaplan
Boulder, Colo.

ILIUM

THANK YOU FOR PHILLIP JOHNSON'S article "Ilium Lives and Dies Again" (*ITT*, April 25), which draws parallels between the Trojan War and the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The actor pictured on the back cover is Robert Sicular. He plays an excellent Hector in the Oregon Shakespeare Festival production of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

—Jeff Mertens
Berkeley, Calif.

THE LIGHT OF DAY

RE SALIM MUWAKKIL'S ARTICLE ON "Why Jackson won't dump Farrakhan" (*ITT*, May 2) plus Scott Tucker's letter (*ITT*, May 16), I say: Jackson did the right thing for all, black and white, by breaking open the door to that cellar (or was it a tomb?) and inviting these archaic-minded people into the open media where, along with the Moral Majority *et al.*, their fundamentalist gases may be vented pluralistically. Reality is the fundamentalist's nemesis, whereas kept to themselves they just grow nastier and nastier. We all make mistakes, but I don't believe at this point, for this reason, that voting for Jackson is one. I believe Jackson is a bigger person than Farrakhan, that he's trying to help him see the light. This is precisely the sort of leadership we need—in this country, in this world, at this time.

—Jonas Candler
Candler, N.C.

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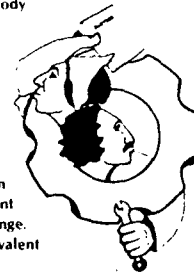
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PERSPECTIVES

The struggle may be heroic, yet the results not perfect

demic to most of Latin America. Nicaragua's is probably the first revolutionary government in history to abolish capital punishment. Both regimes clearly have deep popular support. But at the same time, they're both countries, Cuba particularly, where authority flows from the top down, not from the bottom up. The Sandinistas have treated Nicaragua's Miskito population badly—a mistake they now acknowledge. Cuba has few civil liberties in our sense of the term, has political prisoners in jail and won't even let Amnesty International send in a survey team. Both governments have serious flaws. Why pretend that they don't?

I don't mean to sound sanctimonious. There's no country anywhere that fully

and guilt-relieving about having some distant country to romanticize, particularly if it has a history of being oppressed by the West. There is always part of the American left that wants to see some Third World country bathed in this rosy glow. For a time it was China. During the Vietnam war it was North Vietnam. At other times it has been Tanzania or Mozambique. Somewhere, *somewhere*, there must be a perfect socialist society where justice reigns, everybody is happy and everything works. Alas, seldom is it so. In all these countries there is much to admire, but in the end China and Vietnam went to war against each other; Tanzania is sunk in economic doldrums that cannot be entirely blamed on the rest of the world. Happily, none of these places has ended up as badly as the Soviet Union, which was the target of so much of that rosy glow vision in the '30s.

The problem with rosy-glowism is threefold. First: no country anywhere, ever, for any reason, should be exempt from being judged according to the basic international standards of human rights. Second: North American leftists who appear to have blind spots in this regard weaken their own credibility. And right now the anti-intervention movement in the U.S. needs all the strength and credibility it can muster. And third: any time people project their own vision of Utopia onto a particular country, in the long run the vision usually doesn't accord with reality, and this leads to disillusionment. In this way, illusions about Stalinism led to a great weakening of the American and European left as the truth about the gulags unmistakably emerged. The best way not to have disillusioned leftists is not to have illusioned ones to begin with. Any progressive politics worth its salt must rest on a clear-eyed and unceasing passion for justice, and not on the fantasy that there is anywhere on earth where that has already been achieved. ■

Adam Hochschild is a contributing editor of *Mother Jones* magazine. This essay first appeared in *Peace & Democracy News*, the newsletter of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West.

It isn't necessary to blind oneself to the faults of revolutionaries in order to support their revolutions.

combines great social justice and maximum civil liberties. And you can't expect that combination to arise quickly in nations whose history is centuries of Spanish colonialism, U.S. economic imperialism, slavery and the Catholic Church. Given that heritage, Cuba and Nicaragua have done extraordinarily well. If Ronald Reagan were to stay off their backs, they might do still better.

Why, though, do some North Americans jump on anybody who criticizes Nicaragua in the slightest, and ignore a degree of authoritarianism in Cuba that would appall them if they found it in this country? This tendency is a familiar one, I'm afraid; there is something seductive

or two occasions they have used arms against each other as well as against government troops. It is hard to predict with certainty the exact nature of a revolutionary regime likely to emerge.

In the countries of this hemisphere where revolutions have triumphed—Nicaragua and Cuba—most people are vastly better off now than before. Despite vicious U.S. harassment, these nations have made huge advances in attacking malnutrition, unemployment, disease, illiteracy and the official corruption en-

By Adam Hochschild

LATELY I'VE FOUND THAT I've grown allergic to the word "heroic." As in: "We must support the heroic people of Nicaragua in their struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Don't get me wrong. I think the rebels in El Salvador are heroic. And I think the covert U.S. war against Nicaragua is criminal. But the rhetoric bothers me, because it indicates that portions of the left in this country are currently making the same mistake many people did during the war in Vietnam. If what we're doing is 100 percent evil, the unspoken logic runs, then the other side must be 100 percent good.

Yes, the U.S. interventions in Central America are 100 percent wrong; there is no justification whatever for our attempts to crush the Sandinistas on the one hand and to prop up a corrupt and brutal government in El Salvador on the other. Every North American of conscience ought to be working to stop that intervention. But the corollary of that statement is not that the Sandinistas or the Salvadoran rebels are without problems. Few regimes or movements anywhere are. And there is no useful purpose served—particularly the urgent one of stopping U.S. intervention—by pretending that they are.

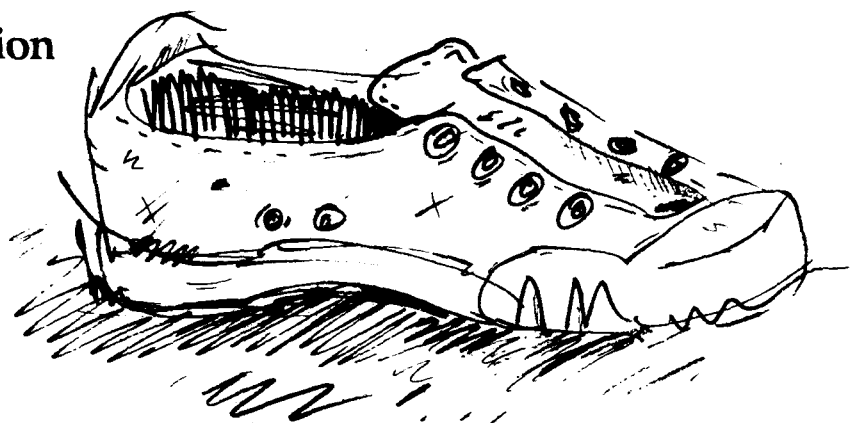
I hope the rebels in El Salvador win. They include many people deeply committed to bringing justice to their country—some of whom have paid for that commitment with their lives. They offer far more hope to a long-suffering people than the death squad thugs running the country now. But the rebels are a coalition of five heavily armed groups ranging from Catholics to Maoists. On one

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

HAWAII

It's somebody else's paradise

By Winona La Duke

Volcanoes border the entire Pacific Ocean, and Hawaii sits in the middle, 3,000 miles from anything. Although the U.S. puts Hawaii in a small box beside California's Catalina Island and Alaska, it is really a separate and struggling geopolitical entity.

Hawaii is the last frontier of an era of U.S. expansion, given statehood in 1959, 18 years after Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entry into World War II. Today on all eight of the Hawaiian islands, the people and the land are simply trying to survive in what has become someone else's paradise.

Hawaii is the darkest state in the union—less than 18 percent of the population is Caucasian. Hawaii is also the most militarized state and is the "brain" of the Pentagon's Pacific Command. And it serves as headquarters for military activities that control more than half the earth's surface, from the west coast of North America to the east coast of Africa and from the Antarctic to the Arctic. From his headquarters at Camp Smith, near Pearl Harbor, the Commander in Chief-Pacific (CINCPAC) directs all components of the U.S. armed forces in an integrated command. CINCPAC also directs separate, unified commands in Japan and Korea.

There are more than 100 military installations in the Hawaiian islands, with fully 10 percent of the state and 25 percent of Oahu under direct federal control.

Hawaii is the loading and re-loading base for all of the Pacific. In Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, Hawaii's largest industrial enterprise, fuel rods are replaced in the Navy's nuclear powered submarines. In 1972 Oahu alone was the storage site for some 3,200 nuclear weapons. Representing the second largest source of income for the state, the 50,000 military personnel based on the islands help contribute a whopping 35 percent of direct revenues.

Sometimes Kaho'olawe does not even appear on airline maps of the Hawaiian islands. It is the only National Historic Monument utilized year-round as a bombing range by the Defense Department.

Kaho'olawe is Hawaii in microcosm. For centuries, it has been a monastery for Hawaiian religion, the sacred departing place for traditional voyages to Tahiti, 3,000 miles away. In 1941, it was taken by the Defense Department. The people—farmers and ranchers—were moved out and the military moved in.

For 43 years now, the island has been a bombing target for an expanding variety of imaginative military exercises. The latest exercise is the RIMPAC maneuver for all Pacific-rim countries. Coordinated by the Seventh Fleet, the maneuvers are extensive, both in terms of exercises and personnel. At last count some 22,000 combat personnel, 225 planes and 41 warships from participating countries were involved, all of them using Kaho'



Tourists learn to surf on Waikiki Beach, one of the most developed resort areas on the islands.

olawe as ground zero.

Since its inception in 1974, Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana ("Ohana" means "family") has led an escalating struggle to reclaim the island. By 1976 the island was the site of litigation over its cultural significance to native Hawaiians. After the Navy began a court-ordered archeological survey, at least 544 separate religious sites were discovered on the island. The Ohana contends that at least four times as many sites are there, many within the bombing range.

By 1981, the Ohana had signed a consent decree with the Navy, an 18-point agreement providing increased access to the island and

gradual demilitarization. This year the Ohana brought the 3,000th visitor to the island.

"...I was kissing people I didn't even know. Then I saw how many tourists started coming to our coast. I quit. I was afraid we were going to get evicted again...."

—Georgette Myers, native Hawaiian, formerly an airline employee

One of the biggest problems with Hawaii is that it is a series of islands. That is why people love Hawaii, and that is also why they can't stay. There simply isn't enough room for everyone and everything. But money talks, and one of the biggest mouths in Hawaii is the tourist industry or, as its proponents call it, the "happiness industry." Haunani Kay Trask is a professor of American studies at the University of Hawaii and one of the most vocal native Hawaiian nationalists. Of particular concern to Trask is the tourist industry, responsible for an estimated 30 percent of Hawaiian labor force employment and (directly and indirectly) 52 percent of the state's gross product.

Trask sees the tourist industry as a form of prostitution: "Tourism is not made to sell *haole* [white] culture. It's here because we are the native people of this *aina* [land]. It is our culture that tourists come to see. It is our land that tourists come to pollute. That is the secret. Without Hawaiians, without beautiful Hawaiian women dancing, there would be no tourism...." Trask continues, "It deforms the culture, so Hawaiians think that to dance the hula is to dance for tourists.... Hawaiians grow up thinking that our culture is a *haole* interpretation of culture...and if you smile real

nice, some *haole* is going to take you out."

Tourism has made some native Hawaiians feel like monkeys at a zoo. In January 1983, for example, the state bulldozed houses of people in Makua for a state park. Makua is the beach at the bottom of an alluvial valley on Oahu. On the mountain above the beach the military has a bombing range, where a satellite communications station was installed in the early '80s. To the Hawaiians, the idea of a state park at Makua is more than a little ironic. Not only did the state bulldoze houses and arrest people to put in this "recreation" site, but the Hawaiians who were forced out had to wade through live ammunition that washed up on the beach during 1982's Hurricane Iwa.

When the state destroyed the Makua houses last year, 12 families remained as squatters on their own land. "The state constantly rips off our land, then turns around and calls us 'squatters,'" says Mililani Trask, an attorney. In another case at Halo Mohalu, a Hansen's disease (leprosy) patient facility, the Department of Health razed the entire facility in September 1983, again to create a recreational area.

On the island of Molokai, the Kalaupapa peninsula has been the site of another leprosy colony for over a century. Patients were sent there as soon as the disease was identified, and most have lived their entire lives at Kalaupapa. Although the state Health Department has cut back the operating budget at Kalaupapa, tourism is booming in the settlement. Since leprosy is virtually eradicated, someone figured that visitors would be interested in touring the historic site. Donkey rides and helicopters to the peninsula are now available.

Shelly Mark, director of Ha-

waii's state Department of Planning and Economic Development for 12 years, explains the tourism predicament. "Ownership of the land has shifted to corporations off the islands. Rate of return on investment has become the most important thought. There is a conflict between the life of the land and sea versus the life of the corporate boardroom. Tourism drives up living and land costs for locals, but provides only low-paying, low quality jobs."

"...We can barely pay house rent and they build apartments. They only make more rooms when they can make farms. With inflation now, hard to buy tomatoes, carrots. Instead of building those kind buildings, let the Hawaiians farm. You cannot eat 'em, those buildings."

—Wai'anae Coast Hawaiian

Development has taken a heavy toll on Hawaiians and the land. Generations of living on islands have made them "accommodating—we had to learn to get along better." Haunani Kay Trask explains this phenomenon as colonization. "This is not America, this is a colony." The establishment of sugar and pineapple plantations marked the first wave of colonialism. The military and finally tourism mark the next waves of colonialism. "The transformation of the Hawaiian people and their land into servants of tourism is called 'commodification.' It means turning a cultural attribute or person into a commodity to make a profit.... Almost all of us in the Hawaiian movement have done the song and dance for the tourists, worked in the hotels. We have all been commodified," Trask insists.

In *Aloha Aina*, a newspaper of the Hawaiian movement, another Hawaiian puts it differently. "We have been denied access to our traditional means of survival by a colonization process that interrupts the pattern of learning to survive and substitutes learning to serve. Unknowingly, we pay a high price for our Western assimilation in terms of our future choices. The cost of a healthy capitalist economic system requires that we steal from our future to maintain our high standards of living. When a fishpond is dredged and filled for resort development and construction jobs, we destroy a generations-old resource as a sacrifice for short-term jobs and luxury developments. When our agricultural areas are left without water so that golf courses can be kept green and scenic, we lose the opportunity to subsist on our lands."

Since the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani by Samuel Dole (the fruit magnate) in 1890, foreigners have always staked their claims. Making Hawaii U.S. territory brought the Pacific Command and the integration of the Hawaiian plantation state into a worldwide agricultural network. Finally, with statehood, Hawaii's most recent invader is the visitors' industry, marketing happiness. Each generation in Hawaii has seen new imports from the mainland.

The result is outside control. The Robinson family claims ownership of one of the islands (Ni'ihau), Dole "owns" Lanai, the Defense Department claims Kaho'olawe and the military "owns" 10 percent of the remaining islands.

"We have seen it all," says Mililani Trask, who has been active in numerous commissions, legal cases and other ventures for

Continued on page 15



Thomas Neblin

Theirs Be the Power

By Harry Caudill
University of Illinois Press,
189 pp., \$12.95

Welcome the Traveler Home. Jim Garland's Story of the Kentucky Mountains

By Jim Garland
University of Kentucky Press,
231 pp., \$23.00

By Peter Gottlieb

Few enterprises have shown capitalism in as harsh a light as the coal industry. And in few places has the coal industry been as merciless in exploiting people and land as in Appalachia.

The coal industry in 20th-century Appalachia has spawned few broad-minded employers but many bull-headed millionaires; little peaceful collective bargaining but much bloody conflict between miners and operators; hardly a single prosperous county but dozens of abandoned towns. Eastern Kentucky, the area of Appalachia that Harry Caudill and Jim Garland examine in their books, has been transformed by coal mining in the past 100 years. From a relatively homogeneous and unstratified society before industrialization, mountain society has separated into have and have-not groups. Caudill portrays the haves; Garland the have-nots.

Caudill traces the careers of the most prominent men who made fortunes in Appalachia. He does not describe the many lesser landowners and mine operators who struggled for wealth in the same time and place, concentrating instead on the handful of investors who gained control of eastern Kentucky's resources.

Caudill credits John C.C. Mayo more than any other individual with opening eastern Kentucky to industrial development. Mayo was born in 1864 and grew up on mountain farms. He taught public school, earned a degree at Kentucky Wesleyan and passed the state's bar exam—all before he was in his mid-20s. He began to invest his modest savings in options on timber and mineral rights. To obtain these, he offered hill farmers cash for the right to purchase the natural resources on their property.

Mayo became a master at persuading even the most obdurate landowners to sign away their title to the wealth of their land. Few people knew as well as he how powerful was the sight of cash to his impecunious neighbors, and how little they realized what riches lay on or below the surface of their land. With his options in hand, Mayo prepared to unleash a tidal wave of economic growth on his birthplace.

Mayo exchanged his options for stock in eastern corporations, and he lobbied for changes in Kentucky statutes to smooth the transfer of control over natural resources from the hill farmers to his clients. These included many renowned capitalists and corporations—John D. Rockefeller, Johnson Newlon Camden, Clarence W. Watson, the Northern Coal and Coke Company and Consolidation Coal.

Caudill describes other entrepreneurs who envisioned eastern Kentucky as a center of coal, iron and steel production. But he makes clear that none before Mayo had succeeded in laying a foundation for rapid development. Though Mayo played the role of serpent in Caudill's Appalachian Eden, the author treats him more kindly than he does Mayo's capitalist clients. To de-

scribe the latter, Caudill uses phrases that once characterized the grasping masters of American finance and industry. Caudill compares Mayo not to robber barons, but to popular heroes and imaginative, ambitious natives of mountain society.

When Mayo died in 1914, the industrialization of his homeland was gathering momentum. Caudill vividly describes what happened when railroad lines finally reached the territory that Mayo helped put into outsiders' hands: "...a juggernaut suddenly struck the primitive eastern Kentucky counties.... The region became an El Dorado...and men bore down upon it from around the globe.... Whole valleys were drained of young men as the Kentucky hill people turned from subsistence farming to new lives as coal miners." Between the beginning of World War I and the Depression, the boom in coal mining attracted new corporate investors like International Harvester and Ford Motor Company.

Caudill traces the changing ownership and organization of eastern Kentucky investments from the decline of the original "moguls" through the '70s. His information on more recent major investors in coal, oil, natural gas and timber makes the later part of his book as valuable as the early part is colorful.

Though the names of absentee financiers have changed since the turn of the century, Caudill shows that their control over eastern Kentucky has not. Indeed, through mergers and stock purchases, the concentration of economic and political power in Appalachia has increased greatly. Strong bands of interest now connect the investors, their companies, educational and cultural institutions of Kentucky and the state government. He informs the reader of the meaning of this increase of power in the hands of *Rough life of coal miners explored in Garland's memoir.*

APPALACHIA

Histories of the powers that be

the outsiders.

According to Caudill, every effort to safeguard human life and protect the environment has been frustrated when it has challenged Kentucky's "coal combine."

Author Garland tells a different story. He was one of the laborers whom Caudill's moguls hired to make their investments profitable. Born in the eastern Kentucky coalfields in 1905, he grew up among an increasingly uprooted population. His father's vocations represented the native mountain society in transition. He was a part-time farmer, part-time coal miner, Primitive Baptist preacher and strong supporter of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

Like many of his contemporaries in the eastern Kentucky mining camps, Garland had little schooling, participated actively in the Primitive Baptist church, moved frequently from job to job and tried to improve his condition by joining the UMW. Unlike many other miners in the '20s, he stuck to the union after it failed to organize his district. While other union men were turning in their membership cards, Garland served as president of the last active local union in eastern Kentucky from 1926 to 1929. When the Harlan County mine wars broke out in the early '30s, Garland assumed the leadership.

The mine wars that abruptly changed his life were only one episode in a long history of bitter conflicts between employers and workers in the coal industry. The

Harlan County dispute arose partly because employers in other coalfields had succeeded in breaking union contracts and lowering miners' wages. When Harlan County operators tried to follow suit by decreasing wages below the abysmal levels they had already reached in the early years of the Depression, the miners rebelled.

Garland and thousands of others revived the UMW in the spring of 1931, staging rallies and strikes to demand restored wages. But the UMW deserted Harlan miners after a gun battle between union men and deputy sheriffs in the town of Evarts. The Communist-led National Miners Union (NMU) then came to Harlan in the summer of 1931, attracting members among thousands of former UMW members who had been blacklisted by employers and evicted from company housing in the spring rebellion. Garland was one of these. By fall 1931 he was leading a local strike committee and organizing other miners into the NMU.

In preparation for a district-wide strike, the NMU organized throughout Harlan and neighboring Bell County during the rest of 1931, distributing food and clothing to miners and their families as well as publicizing the miners' desperate condition to the nation. The strike began on Jan. 1, 1932, and the repression of NMU activity, which had been strong up to that time, grew even more violent. Arrests, beatings and evictions culminated in the murder of Garland's close friend

IN THESE TIMES MAY 23-29, 1984 13

Harry Simms, a 19-year-old New Yorker who had come to Harlan County to help with the strike.

With deputy sheriffs in pursuit of him and the strike crumbling, Garland decided to flee Harlan County for New York City and help raise money for needy miners. He returned to his native region a few months later to salvage the NMU local branches and continue battling, but the union could not be fully revived. After trying to support himself and his wife Hazel by running his own "dog-hole" mine, Garland again left Kentucky with his wife to return to New York.

From the mid-'30s until he retired, Garland's experiences resembled those of many other workers. He hustled jobs during the Depression. In World War II he moved to the Pacific Northwest to work in a shipyard. After this job, he opened his own broom and mop factory in Washougal, Wash., hiring handicapped people to work in it. In 1966 he sold the business and began working for Folkways Records, collecting songs and stories from the mountains of Kentucky.

Garland began writing his memoir in winter 1967. His daughter, friends and interested historians finally brought the manuscript to a publisher's attention. When he died in 1979, however, it was still not finished. Julia Ardery edited the manuscript, making few substantive changes.

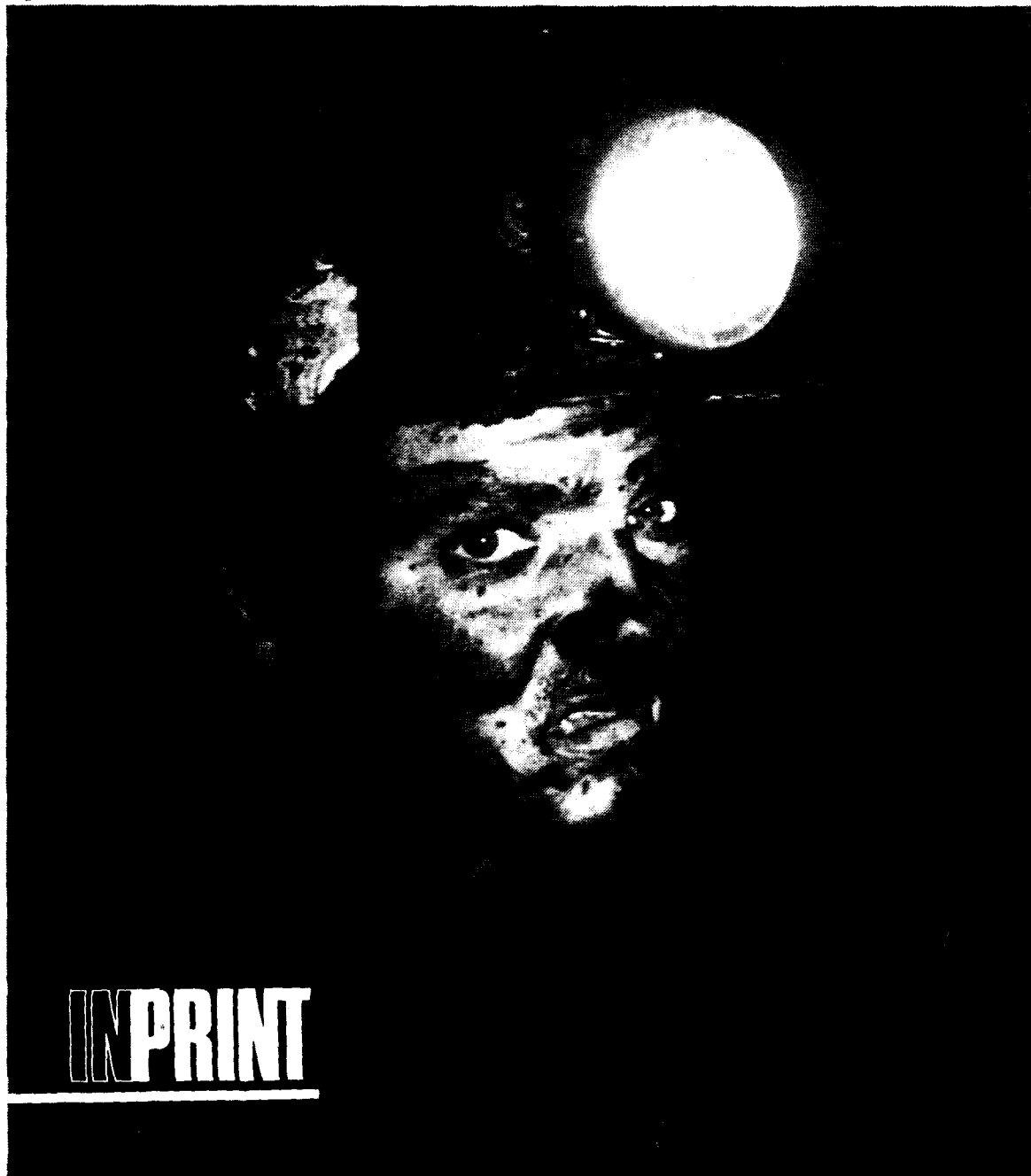
Garland views the eastern Kentucky to which he returned in the '60s in terms similar to those Caudill uses to describe Appalachia in the '70s: a spoiled environment, a depleted and debased population, depressed industries owned by absentee corporations. Despite this similarity in outlook, Garland's and Caudill's understandings of eastern Kentucky history differ substantially. Caudill, the muckraker and publicist, sees predatory economic interests disrupting a stable, agrarian society. Garland, the rank-and-file activist, interprets pre-industrial mountain society as dynamic even before the coal operators arrived.

Of these two approaches to Appalachian history, Garland's is the more refreshing. He challenges long-established notions about the isolation of hill people, the origins of mountain feuds and the strangeness of pentacostal religious sects. All this is informed by the author's underlying political view: in a mountain society sharply divided between the employers and the employed, unity among miners, farmers, students and the unemployed is the key to future progress.

These two authors disagree on what the future holds for their native region. Caudill is extremely pessimistic: increasingly powerful machines will strip resources from above ground and below the surface, altering the landscape radically, ravaging soil, streams and farmland. The hill people will desert the land that was home to their families for centuries, leaving only small settlements of machine operators and engineers.

Garland also despairs but realizes the possibilities for change represented by his own life: "If that union [UMW] goes out of existence, I will guarantee that the working people will construct something to take its place.... We're not going back to corn bread and bulldog gravy."

Peter Gottlieb is head of the labor archives at Pattee Library, Penn State University.





TELEVISION

Varieties of propaganda

By Linda A. Rabben

How does Bill Moyers manage to turn provocative subjects into mush? In his PBS series, *A Walk through the 20th Century*, Moyers skims across the surface of history, repeating platitudes with a seriousness that is both sincere and banal.

For example, he recently interviewed two masters of World War II propaganda, Frank Capra (*Why We Fight*) and Fritz Hippler (*The Eternal Jew*). In the process he paradoxically human-

Capra called Hitler "that little jerk" and showed horror at death-camp corpses.

ized the ex-Nazi while intoning pious clichés about Hippler's role as an "accomplice to genocide."

Filmed in front of his bookshelves, quoting Latin proverbs (in Latin), Hippler ran through the old lines: "We thought the Jews would have a bad fate, but only to be transferred to Poland" and "We couldn't prevent [the depiction of Jews as vermin]. That wasn't our idea. We did our job. We had no idea what consequences would follow." The only thing Hippler didn't say was, "I was just following orders."

Moyers did point out that propaganda is usually a call to action, and that it doesn't take much imagination to figure out what action *The Eternal Jew* was supposed to incite. This still seems like a weak censure of the man who made what Moyers called "the greatest hate film of all time."

Perhaps it is Moyers' mildness that irritates. Hippler, he said, "is not a man troubled by his memories." There is no edge to such observations, no outrage,

no indignation, not even passion.

Capra provided whatever feeling was in the episode, by contemptuously referring to Hitler as "that little jerk" and expressing barely articulate horror at pictures of death-camp corpses. But of course Hitler was something more than a "little jerk," just as Capra's film was something other than a defense of "freedom."

Moyers only managed to hint at propaganda's moral ambiguity when he attributed Capra's response to the death-camp photos as his ultimate justification for making *Why We Fight*. As Moyers blandly stated, "Democracy and propaganda are uneasy companions."

So were Capra and Hippler, paired awkwardly on the same show—a fine example of television's mania for the pretense of objectivity. *The Eternal Jew* and *Why We Fight* aren't easily or justly comparable, since Hippler made the former before the war, while Capra made the latter during the war.

Moyers gave German combat films scant attention, however. According to Hippler, they were meant to intimidate Western Europe out of resisting the *blitzkrieg*. "Do your own work, and let us do our work" was their message, Hippler said—a curious choice of words that Moyers neither acknowledged nor challenged.

In an earlier episode of the series, Moyers concluded his account of the civil rights move-

ment with the 1963 March on Washington, as if it and the Civil Rights Act that followed ended the story. Younger viewers might have assumed that segregation and discrimination ended in 1964. Likewise, Moyers' lukewarm condemnation of Hippler, "respected citizen of Berchtesgaden," could give some viewers a distorted idea of what the Nazis were. After all, Hippler can speak Latin and English and looks like a civilized old gent.

Like some other PBS productions—Karnow's *Vietnam*, for instance—Moyers' series makes this century's crises, crimes and atrocities into set pieces, moralizing on the triumph of good over evil or the eternal shame of human folly. In their resolute refusal to express any opinion that might upset anybody, such programs justify not only the status quo but also the horrors that result from blind repetition of past mistakes. With history like this, who needs enemies?

If you have wanted to commit civil disobedience but didn't have the time to do the crime, watch *Stopping History*, a TV documentary on the ethics of nuclear-war protest that will appear on PBS stations in late May and early June.

Produced by Adair Films in San Francisco, the film juxtaposes theory—discussion of the ethics of illegal protest—and ac-

Moyers plays it safe in A WALK THROUGH THE 20TH CENTURY.

Protesters at Livermore Lab commit civil disobedience.

tion—preparations for a peaceful blockade of Livermore National Laboratory. The film switches among talking-head interviews (with "experts" and citizens), meetings of apprentice protesters and the blockade itself, in which more than 1,000 people participated. One dramatic scene shows a woman going limp while the police apologize to her for locking her arms and carrying her, spreadeagled, into custody.

The interviews start out slowly, but the tension builds as the camera refuses to look away after speakers stop talking. They smile tentatively or fumble for a neat conclusion to their unsure remarks about why they do or don't protest. This technique is no exercise in video-sadism, but a revealing, sometimes moving commentary on the hesitations and rationalizations that people use to cope with the possibility of nuclear war. Would the Jews of Central Europe have reacted similarly if they had been interviewed before the Holocaust?

The film more or less subtly slants in favor of the protesters. Only one person interviewed supports the nuclear arms race, and he is a senior physicist at Livermore. The camera shows him slouched in his chair, his paunch protruding lumpishly. The protesters are, of course, much more physically attractive.

Other participants in the film accept deterrence. Philosopher John Searle says, "We've had a stable peace, and I think we owe that, paradoxical as it may sound

...to the threat of mutual destruction." At the film's most emotional moment, a non-protester breaks down in tears, saying, "I don't think we're going to make it." An ethics teacher admits that he is too busy teaching ethics to do much about nuclear war.

But protesters insist, "When you see something wrong, it's up to you to do something." As the screen shows scenes from the blockade, a young participant remarks, "There's no alternative short of sitting in your closet.... What happens if [the bomb] doesn't drop? You've sat in the closet all your life."

Ironically, though, the scenes of the blockade seem perversely comic, perhaps because the ritualized quality of such protests has become clear. Even the police take care not to break the unwritten rules of the game. In contrast, think of the excruciating demonstration scenes in *Gandhi*, or old footage from Selma, Ala., in the '60s. In those cases, the immediate stakes were much higher and the dangers much greater.

Although the narration portrays the protesters favorably, it avoids outright advocacy by making debatable generalizations like "violence has been a part of human nature." And the spoken conclusion seems contradictory and unsatisfying. But the scenes of protesters planning the blockade, especially juxtaposed against the pathetic self-pity of some non-protesters, are very effective. The film may not answer the ethical questions it poses—and the philosophers interviewed certainly don't—but at least it bothers to raise them.



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CHICAGO, IL

June 2

CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) hosts its gala Annual Fundraising Dinner at Bethany United Church of Christ,

4250 N. Paulina. This year's theme is: "El Salvador: A New Society Takes Root." Speaker: Arnaldo Ramos of the FDR/FMLN. Cocktails at 6:00 p.m.; dinner program at 7:00 p.m. \$10 donation. Seating is limited, so RSVP. Call (312) 227-2730 for ticket information.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 15

"Thirty Years of Bitter Fruit: The Social, Political and Economic Consequences of U.S. Intervention in Guatemala—June 1954-June 1984." A national conference sponsored by NISGUA, the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Call (202) 483-0050 for information. Write for brochure: 930 F St., Rm. 720, NW, Washington, DC 20004.

TAKOMA, MD

June 23, 24

"Sisterfire," annual urban festival of women's culture, Saturday and Sunday, June 23rd and 24th, Takoma Park Junior High School, Takoma Park, Md. (just outside D.C.). Sweet Honey, Ibis, Holly Near and more. Advance tickets: \$14:one day, \$22-weekend. Roadwork, 1475 Harvard St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. (202) 234-9308.

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Hawaii

Continued from page 12

native Hawaiians. "The scandal of Hawaii is that legally, under the admission act, native Hawaiians are entitled to 50 percent of state lands and revenue therefrom. We are a wealthy people—in land, culture, religion. But my people are waiting 60 years for their homestead. Some of them have died on the waiting lists. They give our land to industries, schools, military, anyone."

Trask cites the Department of Hawaiian Homelands (DHHL) reports. The DHHL conservatively estimates that it has 187,534 acres under its jurisdiction for the benefit of native Hawaiians. Of that, 88,637 agricultural acres are leased for "modest revenues," averaging less than \$4.00 per acre annually. After 34 executive orders and eight governors' proclamations, 26,990 more acres were transferred from the Hawaiian homelands estates to public lands such as state parks and forest reserves. The Defense Department got about 2,105 acres of this land. For the native Hawaiians, approximately 70,000 acres remain, and the people themselves still don't have these lands. As of June 1983, some 9,000 people were on waiting lists for homesteads or a house.

Legally the state of Hawaii is responsible for the native Hawaiians, having inherited oversight when Hawaii became a state. According to Mililani Trask, the state has mismanaged these lands but is making no moves to rectify the problem. "The facts show federal mismanagement [until 1959]," says Trask, "and state mismanagement. The law says the state is the trustee of [Hawaiian] lands. The law also says that native Hawaiians don't have the right to sue the federal or state government to protect their lands, or to receive their own legal entitlements such as revenues. The federal government is the only one that can sue [the state] and vice versa. Recognizing what the facts show—both federal and state theft—the state won't sue and the feds won't sue, because they would be suing each other, and both are equally guilty."

Winona La Duke writes regularly on American Indian affairs.

Olympics

Continued from page 16

Was worry about defections a major reason for the Soviet pullout? Let's see. The Soviets have now participated in seven summer Olympics and six winter Olympics. Try to guess how many of their athletes have defected. A grand total of one, at the Montreal games, and

he returned to the Soviet Union later that same year.

Did the Soviets always intend to boycott in revenge for '80, as many Americans now conjecture? Don't believe it. Not only would their participation in preliminary events, their tours of the sites and other elaborate preparations have constituted an awesome charade, but on a more mundane level they have already paid \$3 million in non-refundable hard cash for Los Angeles housing. This strongly suggests divided opinions in the Kremlin.

If one must conjecture, their leaders may simply be more out of touch than their severest critics had imagined. This is a time when Americans have awareness of what nuclear war means, resulting in an amazing ballot sweep for a nuclear freeze despite a popular president's opposition and a surge of public opinion for better U.S.-Soviet relations.

With this action the Soviet geniuses have stunned and disheartened American advocates of peace and the friendly intercourse the Olympics exemplify, while immensely cheering and strengthening anti-Soviet fanatics. They have elevated the "Orange County nuts" of the Ban the Soviet Coalition to a prominence they failed to gain for themselves. (They abandoned their petition drive as a failure, and they could only muster a few hundred participants for a "mass" demonstration.) The nuts are toasting Chernen-

ko, while George Kennan groans. The Soviets may make a brave show of putting on an Eastern-bloc "Olympics," but you can be sure that they have on their hands some very unhappy East Germans and Hungarians in particular. Not to mention the Cubans, whose fine boxing and baseball teams were avidly anticipating the competition.

Most Soviet athletes are probably as sick and disgusted as most Americans were with Carter in '80. (How many votes do you suppose Carter got later that year from America's athletes, their families, friends, coaches and fans?) As Tom Milich, U.S. Olympic swim coach, said in reaction to the Soviet pullout, "I know how the Russian athletes feel."

Competitively, the games turn to ashes. Nor is there any refund for those who bought tickets in good faith for a real Olympics, not a Cold War meet.

In betraying their country's own youth, the Olympic organizers, the host city and the world's most hopeful carnival of peaceful fellowship, the Soviet leaders have sunk to the Carter administration's 1980 level and forfeited some international respect.

Between the mediocre and self-righteous leadership of the world's two superpowers, this year's summer Olympic games have been crippled. No wonder so many frightened people around the world have come to say "a plague on both their houses."

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SCRATCH THE OLYMPICS

By Lester Rodney

A LITTLE OVER A MONTH AGO, assistant manager Chris Jackman of the Pacific Stereo store in Costa Mesa, a Los Angeles suburb, greeted 20 young men and women who casually strolled into the store and asked if he could help them.

To his surprise, the smiling young people responded in Russian. An interpreter with them explained that they were members of the Soviet shooting team in town for a seven-day pre-Olympic tournament.

Jackman said they were dressed like Americans and looked like them as well. "I thought they'd look different," he remarked. The Russians bought some portable radios, swapped a team pin for a rock'n'roll cassette tape and left in a glow of good feelings.

Without one unfriendly incident, the 25-member team stayed at an Anaheim hotel, browsed and shopped, toured Universal Studios and competed in the meet, winning seven medals in 11 events. They posed for pictures with Sam the Olympic Eagle and joked and exchanged souvenirs with the American competitors. Oleg

Chuvilin, a member of the Soviet Committee on Physical Culture and Sport, who accompanied the team, said they were treated fairly by Olympic officials and cordially by all Americans. "We were well as by the host country," he said. "The reporters reported that we were going and friendly."

This is the first time Soviet Olympic leaders, who have often been treated poorly by our own Cold War hawks, have killed, or even threatened to kill, on May 8, when they would boycott the games. There was nothing in the warm feelings in Costa Mesa. Sara jevo recently showed, and as American Olympic athletes, spectators and those of us lucky enough to have covered the Olympics have always found, the getting-to-know-you fellowship is real at the games. Those who mean the Olympic spirit being killed by greed and greed have never been.

The Soviet pullout is a disgrace to athletes and people of good will everywhere as was the sabotage of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. What was this Soviet move about? Did their leaders

"organizers of the games," as their official text stated, were in cahoots with the government to inflame anti-Olympic sentiment? They know bet-

any lingering hope that the Russians might change their minds before the June 2 deadline. The State Department's ridiculous barring of a Soviet official as a "KGB" man added to the hostility.

Although we cannot do what the Russians were prepared to do in 1980—simply round up all potential demonstrators and rust them out of town for the duration—the hostile way our officials addressed the problem did not improve the situation. Rejecting any suggestion that special steps be taken, State Department spokesman John Hughes went out of his way to be insulting. "We don't muzzle people in this country," he pontificated.

Without debating that claim now, if the administration were as interested as it pretends in a successful, friendly Olympics, it could have publicly dissociated itself from the Ban the Soviets Coalition. Law enforcement agencies, comfortably within American legalities, could have made clear that the demonstrators and their Russian-language brochures with instructions on defecting, as well as the refugees planning to buttonhole Russian athletes, would be kept at a civilized distance from the Soviet ship in Long Beach and from all Olympic housing.

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Cold War spirit in summer games